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# A History of the Events Leading to the Establishment of the First State Normal School in America

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# A HISTORY OF THE EVENTS LEADING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FIRST STATE NORMAL SCHOOL IN AMERICA

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### SUMMARY OF THE NARRATIVE

When the history of British control over the thirteen colonies was brought to an end by the Revolutionary War, educational conditions in the New World were in a state of decline.[1] From the beginning of the Seven Years' War until the end of the War of Independence, military and political questions monopolized the thinking of the period. After 1783 the Confederated states were too busy attempting to survive politically and economically to be concerned with such luxuries as education. The fact that the Constitution does not mention education is an indication that other matters were of more serious concern to the framers of this document. Then, too, that most of these men were products of an aristocratic social order and educated in private, tuition-paying schools made them even less concerned with the future of public education in this country.[2] This is not to suggest that efforts to improve the educational climate had not been made prior to the second

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[1] Ellwood P. Cubberley, Public Education in the United States (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935), p. 82.

[2] Ibid., p. 84.

quarter of the nineteenth century when an educational revival did occur.[3] Many Americans of the revolutionary generation were anxious to create a national mentality in keeping with the opinions, practices, and principles of a republican form of government. Yet the educational theorists were faced with the age-old problem of formulating a system of thought which would at once allow the individual the liberty to expand and explore his creative talents while at the same time restricting his philosophy in support of the existing political structure.[4] Three writers who expressed concern for the educational development of the country were Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Rush, and Noah Webster. The libertarian Jefferson feared the evolution of a monarchy in the United States. The Federalist Webster did not trust the seeds of anarchy latent in a democratic form of government. Rush, less doubtful of the democratic direction of society, was more concerned about the centrifugal forces at work within the United States.[5] These three architects of early national thought faced the same problem that confronts education today: how to liberate the mind while producing loyal citizens. It was evident that a republican form of government would have to be nurtured by a more liberal school system than that

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[3]Ibid., p. 86.

[4]David B. Tyack (ed.), Turning Points in American Educational History (Waltham, Mass.: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1967), p. 83.

[5]Ibid., p. 84.

which did exist. Yet public support in this direction was slow in developing. Religious and philanthropic agencies had long assumed these responsibilities of the community. The ideals of Jefferson, Rush, and Webster to create a unified public education system for the purpose of furthering republican principles failed to materialize during the lifetime of any of them.[6] Society was going to change, but not without compelling reasons which were to be formulated in the early nineteenth century.

Efforts to upgrade the teaching corps at the elementary level had been made since the opening of the first academy in 1751. Too frequently these teachers were accused of being either too young, ill-prepared, and inconstant, or they were regarded as "incompetent, intemperate, and immoral."[7] Yet efforts to correct these deficiencies through the development of normal schools had not succeeded. State legislatures seemed reluctant to gamble a sum of money sufficient to insure success. The Reverend Samuel R. Hall (1795-1877) opened a normal school in Concord, Vermont, in 1823, only to be forced to close it because of a lack of funds. James G. Carter (1795-1849) had a similar experience four years later when his petition to the Massachusetts legislature for funds failed by one vote. He was forced to wait

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[6]Ibid., p. 92.

[7]Robert H. Beck, A Social History of Education (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 112

until the end of the next decade before his dream of a normal school was realized.

It cannot be accurately determined when the American public began to realize that if it was to have better schools it was going to have to somehow produce better teachers. It could only have been sometime after the War of 1812 when the nation at last was free to take stock of internal conditions and to devise ways of furthering its own self interests. Any assessment at this time would have revealed that the common schools were not keeping step with the progress of the nation and were actually regressing from a level once achieved during the colonial period.[8]

It was becoming increasingly obvious that if growing numbers of common people were going to take their place in a democratic society, and to assume the responsibilities for governing that society, then a school system of an improved kind would have to be developed. It was also obvious that a first step toward improving the nation's schools was to provide adequate training for those who were expected to staff those institutions. The normal school movement was the outgrowth of this realization.

The movement to make state normal schools part of the publicly supported educational structure was but a refinement of the common

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[8]Walter K. Beggs, The Education of Teachers (New York: Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1965), p. 9.

school reform to establish free, universal, and compulsory education in this country.[9] Educational reform itself was but part of a larger reform spirit which gripped the country during the period of Jacksonian democracy in the second quarter of the nineteenth century and elevated to prominance other causes besides education such as temperance, slavery, and religion.[10] In this respect, the school system may be considered to be related structurally to social processes somewhat as a bone is related to the structure of an animal.[11] The school is supported by the social system, yet it supports that system in that it guarantees the future of the society which nurtures it. The content, methods, and purposes of the educational program reflect the values of society and the principles upon which that society rests.[12]

The democratic postulate--that it is not only possible, but essential to provide for the education of the electorate--was inherent in the arguments brought forth in support of the establishment of normal schools.[13] Normal schools provided another means by which the

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[9]Edgar W. Knight, "A Century of Teacher Education," The Educational Forum, IX (1945), 149.

[10]Ibid., pp. 150-151.

[11]William O. Stanley and others, Social Foundations of Education (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1956), p. 37.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Stuart G. Noble, A History of American Education (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1938), p. 179.

educational climate of the country could be improved on a statewide basis. Schoolmen realized that if there was going to be any broad reform, it would have to come through the only agency that could exercise statewide control--the state itself.

Opposition to involvement of the state in district schools was similar to opposition to the federal government in state education today. Yet, as the country became more closely knit, there existed a growing need to regulate school management in a manner that would best serve the interests of the state, and ultimately the interests of the country.

The importance of a well-trained teacher corps has been emphasized by nineteenth and twentieth century educational leaders. Teacher training, then as now, was regarded as one of the most important undertakings of the entire educational enterprise.[14] It was felt that teachers needed to understand the foundations of western education; to understand that the school, as a part of society, was but a reflection of that society; and that a philosophy of education was needed to solve the practical problems arising out of daily classroom activity.[15]

Had the struggle to establish normal schools failed, the outcome of democratic education in this country would have been doubtful. The private school structure, already well established in the early nineteenth century, may have become the dominant type of educational

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[14]Beck, op. cit., p. ii.

[15]Ibid.

system which would have contributed to a division in society of the upper and lower classes. Such class distinctions were not compatible with democratic principles. Public education would have suffered immeasurably had the efforts to establish state normal schools failed, and the training of teachers been left to the private academies. However, this was not to be. During the decades of the 1820's and 1830's, educators in this country studied the European schools where the principles of Johann H. Pestalozzi (1746-1827), Friedrick Froebel (1782-1852), and Emanuel Fellenberg (1771-1844) had been put into practice with favorable results. The Prussian normal schools established by Frederick the Great were some of the best in the world. American educators came back with glowing reports of the progress Europeans were making in this direction.

By 1838, due to the efforts of James Carter (1795-1849) and Horace Mann (1796-1859), and because of the generosity of a Boston merchant, the Massachusetts legislature was moved to fund a normal school project for a three-year period. The following year, on July 3, in the town of Lexington, the first state normal school in the United States was opened. More than twenty more schools were to be founded by 1865, and the number increased by seven hundred percent by the turn of the century.[16]

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[16]Beck, op. cit., p. 116.

## DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

The following terms are explained in some detail in an effort to clarify their interpretation and to provide background information when it has seemed helpful.

### Academy

The academy was a secondary school which developed during the second half of the eighteenth century. It was designed to meet the needs of young Americans in need of such practical skills as surveying, navigation, bookkeeping, the use of mathematical instruments, etc. Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia academy, established in 1751, is recognized as the first example of the American academy.[17] The rise of the academy reflected the changing nature of American society. The colonists were becoming more concerned with practical matters and ways to better the present world, and less interested in a classical curriculum which prepared many for the ministry but did little to equip the student with the skills needed to cope with the problems of the business world.

### Common Schools

The term common schools, in its broadest sense, refers to all schools supported by taxes and open to the public or common people.

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[17] Paul Monroe (ed.), A Cyclopedia of Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911), I, 22.

This understanding includes kindergarten, elementary schools, high schools, city and state normal schools, evening schools, vocational schools, and most forms of adult education.[18]

The common school of the early nineteenth century was an elementary school where children first attended school unless they had had the opportunity of attending a dame school at an earlier age. The age of common school children ranged from seven or eight on into the teens. There were no grades, but students were expected to progress at their own rate. The major concern of the school was to train students to be loyal and responsible citizens. The curriculum included the study of the vernacular language, English literature, and certain aspects of science, industry, and the cultural heritage.[19] The common school has been called ". . . America's most striking and perhaps most important educational achievement."[20]

Common School Revival

During the first half of the nineteenth century the nation was swept by reform movements which affected nearly every sector of society. The temperance movement, religious revival, prison and

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[18]Ibid., II, 161.

[19]Samuel Chester Parker, A Textbook in the History of Modern Education (New York: Ginn and Company, 1912), p. 3.

[20]Edward J. Power, Education for Democracy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1958), p. 140.

insane asylum reforms, the abolition of slavery, and the extension of education were some of the major causes championed at this time.

The public school system during the early part of the century was not providing an adequate education for the majority of school age children, and was in fact in a state of decline. The common school revival (1830-1860) was an effort to improve and extend the common school system and to correct existing abuses. The New England schools led the way, where there was a shift away from private schools, upon which many of the educated relied, and an increased support for the public school system.

The common school revival involved the fight to secure tax supported education for all children, as well as efforts spent to establish normal schools where teacher candidates would be trained to perform their professional duties. The normal school movement was but part of the national revival movement of the early nineteenth century.[21]

Dame School

The dame school was the first type of formal schooling provided in the colonies. Instruction was of the simplest kind, conducted by women who had acquired the rudiments of learning and were willing to pass this on to the young of the community in return for a small fee.

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[21] Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey, The School in the American Social Order (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963), p. 421.

These schools were held in private homes where a few children would gather to become acquainted with letters and numerals, some spelling and writing, and on occasion, sewing and knitting.[22] Catechism always made up part of the lesson. The dame school was a preparation for the town grammar school and later the common school.

English School

This term refers to the development during the early eighteenth century of a secondary school designed to meet the demands made by the rising middle class. This portion of society was in need of acquiring more practical information from subjects such as algebra, geometry, navigation, surveying, bookkeeping, and geography in preference to the classical curriculum taught in the Latin grammar schools. As the artisan and merchant class acquired greater wealth and power, they were able to make their influence felt upon the educational system which responded by providing courses of a more utilitarian nature. The first such schools appeared in the 1730's in New York. They continued to grow until their function was eventually taken over by the academies which developed simultaneously.[23]

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[22] Ellwood P. Cubberley, Public Education in the United States (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934), p. 27.

[23] Ibid., p. 63.

Infant School

The infant school in the nineteenth century was the successor to the dame school of the eighteenth century. Both types of schools had originated in England. The infant school began in this country around 1816. The purpose of the school was to prepare pupils between the ages of four and eight to enter the grammar schools of the period. They became most popular in the northeastern part of the country. They were the predecessors of the nursery and kindergarten schools in today's educational system.[24]

Lancastrian Monitorial System

This was a method designed to provide mass education at a minimal cost. The idea was to use older boys in their early teens to monitor and instruct younger boys and girls. The plan provided for the grouping of as many as 1,000 children into one schoolroom. There they were divided according to approximate abilities, seated in rows of six to ten, and taught by another older and more advanced student who had been prepared to teach a lesson. "There were monitors to take attendance, monitors to teach the various subjects, monitors to keep order, monitors to care for equipment, and monitors in charge of monitors."[25]

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[24]Ibid., p. 137.

[25]Edwards and Richey, op. cit., p. 267.

There was a high degree of organization in the structure of the system, in the course of studies, and in the teaching procedures.

The monitorial system was developed by Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838), an English Quaker schoolmaster, and was introduced into this country in 1806. The system became very popular here, especially in the Northeast. The Free School Society of New York State adopted the plan and continued with it until 1853.[26]

The chief advantage of the Lancastrian plan was that it provided a little education for large numbers of children at a minimum cost. It also demonstrated the feasibility of universal education, making the concept appear to be more practical, especially to the skeptics of universal education.[27]

Latin Grammar School

The Latin grammar school was brought from England to these shores to satisfy the needs of those seeking a classical secondary education. Its purpose was to prepare young boys for college work after they had received some elementary training in the dame school, or in the common school. The principal task was to master Tully or some

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[26]Ibid.

[27]Karl R. Douglass and Calvin Grieder, American Public Education (New York: Ronald Press, 1948), p. 21.

other Latin author, to be able to speak and write Latin, both verse and prose, and to become acquainted with the Greek tongue.[28]

Normal School

This name has been applied to any institution engaged in teacher education. The English borrowed the term from the French who established an Ecole Normale in 1794 for the purpose of preparing teacher candidates for employment in state schools. The name became commonplace for institutions where teachers were trained in France and England.[29] The term "normal" has a Latin derivation meaning model or rule, indicating that the object of the institution was to provide teachers with norms or rules for teaching.[30] In the United States the expression was commonly used to denote an institution to prepare candidates to teach at the elementary level. Prior to 1900 these schools were basically secondary schools, training teacher candidates for the common schools. The program of studies usually included a review of common school subjects, some high school subjects, and a smattering of the

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[28]Cubberley, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

[29]Monroe, op. cit., III, 481.

[30]Freeman R. Butts, A Cultural History of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1947), p. 286.

theory and practice of teaching. On occasion, actual observation and participation in the classroom was provided.[31]

Pestalozzianism

This term designates a system of educational doctrines and practices developed by the Swiss educator, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) and his followers. The system involves these principles:

1. Education should be religious in nature, as man has a divine origin and end.

2. The whole person must be developed. The mental, moral, and physical powers of man must be taken into consideration.

3. Self-activity is the end result in the student. The teacher should only superintend, and not do for the student what the student can do for himself.

4. Education must be responsive to a child's readiness patterns and provide instruction as the child becomes ready to learn, and not before.

5. Knowledge should be the result of the critical evaluation of ideas.

6. Discipline should be based on love and kindness.

Pestalozzi's ideal was to create in the school a wholesome home atmosphere and to make the school as socially comfortable as a good

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[31] Carter V. Good, Dictionary of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959), p. 368.

home would be. Yet fear was to be used as a counterbalance to help the instructor to eradicate undesirable behavior and unhealthy habits in the child.

7. Finally, experimentation was to be constantly employed in an effort to discover new and improved methods of teaching.

Pestalozzi's ideas enjoyed great popularity in this country. His influence was felt in the common school reforms, and in the foundations of the normal schools.[32]

Secularization

This term, as it applies to education, refers to the gradual decline of religion as a subject of concern in the curriculum. Early colonial society was theocratic in nature. Religion played a fundamental role in all aspects of life, including education. But, as the scientific attitude permeated society, and as the middle class in America became more powerful and demanded a more utilitarian curricula, so the schools turned more to secular subjects and away from matters of religion. During the seventeenth century the major motivation behind education was religion, but during the eighteenth century, the classical curriculum designed by and for the clergy and the upper class began to be supplemented, and in some cases largely supplanted by a more

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[32] Monroe, op. cit., IV, 658-659, and Parker, op. cit., pp. 376-381.

pragmatic course of studies such as would qualify a young man for a place in the working world.[33]

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[33]Ibid., p. 133.

## CHAPTER II

## EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

The educational foundations of seventeenth century colonial America were shaped largely by developments which had taken place in the Old World. Europe had undergone a gradual yet profound transformation during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Medieval Europe had given way to a new spirit, a humanistic surge, which brought to life old learnings and cloaked them in new attitudes toward life. A revival of learning was quickened by the development of movable type in the mid-fifteenth century. The opening decades of the sixteenth century saw the split of Christianity in the West.[1]

Europe, long under the control of the Catholic Church, had grown restless under the impact of the new learning. When the Benedictine monk, Martin Luther, refused to follow the demands made of him by his ecclesiastical superiors, he was excommunicated in 1520. A large part of northern Europe sided with Luther against Rome, thereby establishing the permanence of his revolt.[2]

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[1]Ellwood P. Cubberley, Public Education in the United States (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934), p. 6.

[2]Ibid.

The division of Europe into Protestant and Catholic camps resulted in a century and a half of intermittent and savage warfare. After the major wars were concluded, bitter hatreds and persecutions remained. Those who came to the shores of New England were religious zealots determined to preserve their beliefs and ways of life.[3] Their determination to uphold their moral convictions was matched only by their resolution to conquer all physical difficulties met in the New World. It was their intention to carve out of the hostile environment a sanctuary for themselves and their children. Their religious leaders provided them with both the convictions and the determination necessary to succeed.

The split of Christianity had profound consequences for education. Luther, as well as other religious leaders such as Zwingli, Calvin, and Knox, were men of letters and skilled at reading the Greek and Hebrew originals. They felt that the ultimate authority for one's Christianity must be the Bible and the interpretation given to it. The ability to read the Bible became, therefore, a matter of the greatest importance. Salvation depended upon the Bible, and an understanding of the scriptures dictated a minimal degree of education.[4]

The Calvinists brought with them their belief in the inherent evil of man and the need for education to stem the tide of corruption.

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[3] Ibid., p. 8.

[4] Ibid.

The Lutherans avowed their belief in man's freedom and his need to read and interpret the Bible independent of church authority.

The Protestant ethic contributed to the democratic premise that individual rights are inalienable and inviolable. These ideas became part of the American mentality during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and were ultimately expressed in the Constitution of the United States. However, the dominant influence along the Atlantic seaboard during the seventeenth century came from Protestant England. Political, social, religious, and educational developments on these shores were English in origin, nurtured and moulded by the Protestant ethic.

Religion, therefore, constituted the major motif of early colonial America, especially in the New England and mid-Atlantic colonies. The Humanism prevalent in the Old World was engulfed in a body of theology which left little place for the values perpetuated by the Renaissance. Early American civilization was basically medieval in character, admitting seldom "the contagion of scientific interests [which] touched only a few intellectuals [while] the masses continued to be swayed by medieval superstition."[5] The New World was not without redeeming qualities, however. There was ". . . the desire for personal freedom, the yearning for religious liberty, and the

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[5]Stuart G. Noble, A History of American Education (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1938), p. 18.

necessity for creative effort," all of which bespoke a promise for the future.[6]

The early English settlers brought with them the seeds of what was to become American individualism. Ann Hutchinson, Roger Williams, Thomas Hooker, Nathaniel Bacon, and numerous other dissenters, chief among whom were the Quakers, had voiced the individual's right to freedom of expression.[7]

The colonists also brought their peculiar patterns of culture. The Southern colonists transplanted much of old England to the New World. The social structure was such that class divisions soon appeared in the South. The upper class or aristocracy was sharply distinguished from the lower class or common people. On the bottom of the social ladder remained the slaves.

The Southern colonies contrasted markedly with the New England colonies. Although both groups had come from England, those in the north were dissenters from the Church of England dedicated to gaining the freedom to worship as they saw fit. The settlers in the south were adherents of the Anglican church and emigrated for economic reasons.[8]

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[6]Ibid., p. 19.

[7]Ibid., p. 12.

[8]Cubberley, op. cit., p. 22.

Climate and geographical conditions also differed radically, giving rise to large plantation type settlements in the South as opposed to compact farms surrounding closely knit townships in the North. The population distribution of the South posed a formidable obstacle to any attempt which might have been made to educate children on a large scale.

The Southern gentry, following the British example, provided well for the education of their children, while the majority of Southerners had to be satisfied with apprenticeship training and the pauper schools where these existed.[9] The educational conditions of the South were characterized by tutors and private schools for those who could afford them, with charity schools for those who could afford no better. No colonial interest was displayed in the realm of providing general education for the population at large. The Southern conception of schools as instruments for the preservation of religious faith and for the perpetuation of the existing economic and social order was an Old World tradition maintained by the Southern aristocracy and the Church of England. The schools and society reflected this point of view.[10]

In the Middle Colonies, best represented by Pennsylvania and New Jersey, there existed a mixture of peoples representing such a

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[9] Ibid., p. 23.

[10] Ibid., p. 24.

variety of faiths that the control of education by any one agency was impossible. And yet the two main forces that determined the character of schooling, institutionalized religion, and the class structure of society, operated here as well as in the North and South. In the Middle Colonies, however, class lines were less distinct due to the multidenominational character of the inhabitants. No sect was in the majority and church control by each denomination was considered to be the most satisfactory way of conducting the school program. Consequently, neither the government, as in the North, nor the unified church movement, as in the South, gained control of education. As a policy, it became commonplace that each denomination was responsible for the education of its children. Beyond the rudiments of training considered necessary to read the Bible and to function as a common citizen, education on the higher level was available only to those capable and willing to pay for it.

To the North, the Puritans of New England contributed most to the foundations of American education. After arriving on these shores, the inhabitants of Massachusetts passed two laws in 1634 and 1638 providing for the taxation of property for the support of colonial schools. In so acting, the colonial legislature enacted a ". . . principle that lies at the basis of all present-day taxation for the support of schools . . . ."[11]

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[11] Ibid., p. 14.

It was not long before it was realized that not enough was being done for the education of the youth, and in 1642 the Massachusetts legislature in response to "the great neglect of many parents and masters in training up their children in learning and labor" passed a law requiring local authorities to periodically inspect their schools and obliged local residents to send their children to them.[12] This compulsory education law required children to be trained to read and to be given instruction in a trade or profession. Five years later, in 1647, the "Old Deluder Satan Act" was passed requiring all towns of fifty families or more to provide schools for their children or suffer a penalty for five pounds for failure to make the necessary provisions.[13] This document has been referred to as "the foundation of the American public school system."[14] The laws of 1642 and 1647 "laid the basis for the compulsory education of all children and the compulsory town maintenance of schools."[15] Massachusetts set the pattern "which

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[12]Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), p. 26.

[13]William Miller, A History of the United States (New York: Dell Publishing Company, Inc., 1958), p. 59.

[14]S. E. Frost, Jr., Historical and Philosophical Foundations of Western Education (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1966), p. 255.

[15]Cubberly, op. cit., p. 14.

eventually developed into the present-day policy of state control of public schools."[16]

As the early colonial schools evolved, they reflected the class which was basic to European education. The majority of colonials believed in a superior education for the upper classes while a lesser type was deemed sufficient for the masses.[17] Colonial schools, therefore, were dual in nature. The common school was designed to satisfy the needs of the commoner, while the grammar school was for the privileged.[18] Students of both the grammar and common schools usually began their early training in a "dame school" run by a woman possessed of the rudiments of learning. The age of students of both schools ranged from seven to fourteen. Toward the latter part of the eighteenth century there appeared a new type of institution, the infant school, which provided for children as young as three and four.[19]

Methods of financing education also contributed to the perpetuation of the class structure in colonial society. Schools were financed in several ways. Private schools, such as the universities, and the Latin grammar schools, which provided the classical education

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[16]Frost, op. cit., p. 258.

[17]Velorus Martz and Henry Lester Smith, An Introduction to Education (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941), p. 41.

[18]Ibid., p. 72.

[19]Ibid., p. 74.

characteristics of the high-born and well-to-do, were supported by private contributions and by tuition paid by the attending students. Schools attended by those unable to pay for a better education were supported by public funds either in whole or in part. If the public school, such as the dame or common school, required more money, a rate bill was charged each student requiring him to pay for part of his schooling.[20]

Besides public and private institutions, there was another means available for the instruction of the less fortunate. This was the apprenticeship. It was a system whereby young boys and girls were assigned, under the bonds of a legal contract, to the services of a master workman, usually for a period of seven years. It was "the basic and most pervasive educational pattern in the American colonies . . . ."[21] The purpose of the system was to train young people to become useful and productive members of society. Apprenticeship, at its best, was a kind of vocational training program where the young were taught the skills of a trade as well as given moral direction and guidance. At its worst, apprenticeship became a tool by which to legally exploit child labor. As one author expressed it, "cheap labor was scarce throughout the colonial period, and the apprenticeship system provided the better

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[20]Cubberley, op. cit., p. 198.

[21]Frost, op. cit., p. 254.

established classes with help at an almost negligible cost."[22] Fortunately, the practice was supplemented by other educational agencies, at least in New England and in the Middle Colonies. In the South, however, it was frequently the only type of public training offered.[23]

Early colonial schools followed the European pattern in most respects, in that they were dual in purpose, meagerly supported, and poorly staffed. Yet significant differences developed in the eighteenth century. Whereas in Europe, especially in France and Germany, the management of education rested in the hands of the government and religious agencies, in the colonies the local citizenry, who were responsible for the public education system, also had control of it. As a result there arose the district system of schools which is still the basic structure of school organization today. And although the early schools were separated along class lines, this distinction gave way in the eighteenth century as the Latin schools and the classical curriculum were gradually replaced by more pragmatic studies offered in the English grammar schools and in the academies.[24]

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[22]Curti, op. cit., p. 22.

[23]Cubberley, op. cit., p. 36.

[24]John Dale Russell and Charles H. Judd, The American Educational System (Riverside Press, Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940), p. 29.

The movement of education away from the traditional, classical curriculum and toward a more practical, utilitarian program originated on the content of Europe and in England. There, Comenius (1592-1671) had recommended that more useful subjects be taught and that information be acquired through all five of the senses. Locke (1637-1704), likewise, wished to broaden the curriculum in order that the schools might serve a more useful purpose.[25]

In America, an early example of concern for a more utilitarian education was expressed by William Penn, who, in 1682, wrote in a letter to his wife regarding the education of his children:

> For their learning, be liberal. Spare no cost, for by parsimony all is lost that is saved; but let it be useful knowledge . . . . I recommend the useful parts of mathematics, as building houses, or ships, measuring, surveying, dialing, navigation; but agriculture especially is my eye.[26]

During the eighteenth century, American education experienced a radical reverse in emphasis. Early in the century education had a threefold aspect. It was religious, formal, and practical in a descending order of importance. As the century wore on and as the democratic ideal became more dominant in society, as the middle class rose in power and influence, religion and formal studies lost their firm grip on the curriculum and began to gradually give way to more practical, useful

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[25]Noble, op. cit., p. 74.

[26]Ibid., citing Samuel M. Janney, The Life of William Penn (Philadelphia, 1852), p. 189.

studies which would best equip a young man to succeed in the economic world.[27] The earliest evidence of a break with the strictly classical curriculum, which was "heavily overloaded with the classical languages," appeared in the Boston News-Letter in 1709. A schoolmaster, Owen Harris, announced that he was ready to teach students such practical skills as

> "Writing, Arithmetic in all its parts; And also Geometry, Trigonometry, Plain and Sphaerical, Surveying, Dialling, Gauging, Navigation, Astronomy; The Projection of the Sphaere, and the Use of Mathematical Instruments."[28]

In Philadelphia in 1733, one was able to obtain instruction in navigation, surveying, and other studies dealing with the use of mathematical instruments. By 1759, in the same city, a schoolmaster, David Dove, offered in his grammar school such diverse subjects as physics, Latin, Greek, geography, rhetoric, history, poetry, trigonometry, English, bookkeeping, writing, geometry, and geography.[29]

Another less obvious transition in the curriculum involved the classical tradition. In the seventeenth century the classical cirriculum was used as a vehicle to provide religious instruction, whereas in the eighteenth century, the classics were taught because

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[27] Ibid., p. 76

[28] Vera M. Butler, Education as Revealed by New England Newspapers Prior to 1850 (Doctoral Dissertation, Temple University, New York, 1935), pp. 218-219.

[29] Noble, op. cit., p. 70.

of the cultural significance rather than for their religious importance.[30] As the classical tradition gradually gave way in the Latin grammar schools to more practical courses throughout the eighteenth century, some of the Latin schools began to provide a separate curriculum, sometimes taught by another master and sometimes housed in a separate building--as was the case in Philadelphia, in 1751, with the William Penn Charter School.[31] This type of school became known as an English grammar school as distinguished from the Latin. The English grammar school originated earlier in the century and was characterized by a dual curriculum--one classical and one practical or vocational. The English school, and later the academy, were identical in nature, although not in name.[32] The academy became better known, however, and developed into the major type of secondary school in the United States during the first part of the nineteenth century.

It was in 1751 also that one of the most famous of the academies opened, that sponsored by Ben Franklin and others. The academy was pragmatically based, designed as it was to meet the needs of the rising middle class, in distinction from the Latin schools which were for the benefit of the ministry and upper classes seeking a cultural education. Although the academy did not sever its ties with

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[30] Ibid., p. 77.

[31] Ibid., p. 72.

[32] Cubberley, op. cit., p. 63.

traditional studies, it did introduce a new concept into school planning. Franklin's academy attempted to accommodate all educational aspirations by organizing the curriculum into three divisions or schools: Latin, English, and mathematical. Students had an opportunity to choose their area of specialty. This pattern was generally followed by the later academies which became more numerous during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, testifying to the shifting interests in colonial society and to the changing role of the schools.[33] The aristocratic orientation of the schools was breaking down and giving place to the growing mercantile and artisan needs of the middle class.

This change in role and direction of the schools was only a reflection of the society which was becoming gradually more democratic and more responsive to the needs of the rising and eventually dominating middle class majority. What brought about this change in education was largely due to developments which occurred first in Europe, and then spread to America. It is commonly referred to as the Enlightenment.[34]

Near the beginning of the eighteenth century a new spirit began to flow across Europe. This influence had originated with such

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[33]Noble, op. cit., p. 73.

[34]Ibid.

liberals in the scientific field as Bacon, Newton, Harvey, Locke, and Boyle. French scholars, such as Voltaire, Diderot, and others took their lead and developed a new philosophy based upon the realities of science as interpreted by the power of reason. The French philosophers attacked organized religion for placing limitations upon the freedom of thought and denigrated autocracy and elitism. They offered to mankind the leadership of science in place of the state, the church, and the superstitious beliefs and empty ceremonials of the day. Reason was regarded as a god, Newton's Principia became their Bible, and Voltaire the champion exponent of their cause.[35] Rousseau took his place as a protagonist, pitting the doctrine of human perfectibility against the dogma of human depravity. He pointed out the irrationality of all forms of arbitrary authority, whether it be social, political, or theological. These ideas crossed the Atlantic and permeated the fabric of colonial America. Calvinism and orthodox theology were ill-equipped to meet the challenge of rationalism formulated in terms of a democratic philosophy and expressed in a world of pragmatic realism.[36] As a consequence of these developments, the intensely religious and English way of life of seventeenth-century colonial America gradually gave way

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[35]Ibid., p. 43.

[36]Vernon Louis Parrington, The Colonial Mind, 1620-1800 (Vol. I of Main Currents of American Thought, 3 vols.; New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927-1930), pp. 148-151.

to a more individualistic, rationalistic, and secular spirit during the succeeding century.

Although the Enlightenment did emphasize the scientific approach to the solution of problems, it had little effect upon the quality of teaching provided in the colonial schools. Teachers during the period reflected a very broad spectrum of preparation. Those who were educated in the colleges in Europe or at Harvard during the seventeenth century were hired to teach in the Latin grammar schools, and later in the academies and colleges.[37] Generally, teachers taught at a grade level somewhat lower than that of their own educational achievements, so that those who had the least training taught in the lowest grades. As a result, salary and social prestige also varied according to the grade taught.

Teacher qualifications were minimal during most of the colonial period. In most cases teachers needed to meet three criteria. First and foremost, they were expected to know themselves what they proposed to teach to others. Therefore, those who applied to teach in a college or Latin grammar school had to have had the benefit of college training. Those with less education were able to teach only in the lower grades. Second, prospective teachers had to be in good moral standing and be a practicing Christian. In the New England colonies,

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[37]Raymond E. Callahan, An Introduction to Education in American Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), p. 381.

teachers usually had to be approved by the minister of the community. This practice was the beginning of teacher certification in this country.[38] Finally, the person applying for a teaching position was expected to be loyal to the government. In few cases were teachers required to be licensed during the seventeenth century. The Dutch Colony of New Netherlands was an exception to this rule. Here teachers were required to have an ecclesiastical license in order to teach.[39] In 1688 all Virginia schoolmasters were required to appear at the next meeting of the General Court to present evidence of their competence and proof "'that they were upright and sober in their lives, and conformable in their religious opinions to the doctrines of the Church of England.'"[40]

Licensing was used as a means of controlling the quality of teachers during the colonial period although the efficacy of this measure may be questioned. In most cases licensing consisted of an ". . . oral interview conducted by the school committeeman who was scarcely as well equipped to give an examination as was the applicant to take one."[41]

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[38]Karl R. Douglass and Calvin Grieder. American Public Education (New York: Ronald Press, 1948), p. 21.

[39]William Marshall French. Education for All (New York: Odyssey Press, 1955), p. 55.

[40]Curti, op. cit., p. 11, citing Philip A. Bruce's Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century (New York: 1910), Vol. I, p. 334.

[41]Martz and Smith, op. cit., p. 263.

In 1701, the Church of England made an effort to further its interests and those of education in the New World by establishing the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This society not only conducted schools but established seminaries for the training of Episcopal clergymen. They even made gains as far north as Puritan New England.[42]

In 1711, the Society established a list of qualifications which teachers of the Society were expected to meet. Any person wishing to become a teacher for the Society was obliged to produce certificates testifying to his:

> 1) age, 2) condition of life whether single or mary'd, 3) temperance, 4) prudence, 5) learning, 6) sober and pious conversation, 7) zeal for the Xtian Religion and diligence in his calling, 8) affection to the present government, 9) conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.[43]

The year following, South Carolina passed a statute requiring that any person who presumes to become a master of a schoolhouse shall:

> . . . be of the Church of England, and conform to the same, and shall be capable to teach the learned languages, that is to say, Latin and Greek tongues, and to catechise and instruct the youth in the principles of the Christian religion, as professed in the Church of England.[44]

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[42]Carroll Atkinson, The Story of Education (Philadelphia: Chilton Company, 1965), p. 99.

[43]Edgar W. Knight and Clifton L. Hall. Readings in American Educational History (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951), p. 28.

[44]Ibid., p. 29.

The social and economic conditions of the early American teachers varied greatly throughout the colonies. Where education was held in esteem, as in the North, the conditions of teachers were somewhat better than those in the South where the responsibility for educating the young was sometimes left to the lot of the indentured servants or even the slaves.

Qualifications for the post of teacher varied greatly also, depending upon the needs of the community and the availability of teachers. Minimal qualifications were required for the dame schools, whereas the Latin grammar school usually acquired masters of learning and influence.

The best known teachers were those who taught in the Latin grammar schools of New England. One of the most famous of these was Ezekiel Chreever (1614-1708) who for seventy-one years served as a teacher in New England and for thirty-eight of those years was head of the Boston Latin School.[45] Another outstanding teacher in New England was Elijah Corlett (1611-1687) who for forty-three years was head of the Cambridge Latin School.[46] The service and prestige of these two masters contrast markedly with the majority of the teachers of the day. Most teachers occupied unenviable positions. They

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[45]Cubberley, op. cit., p. 51.

[46]Ibid., p. 52.

represented a discredited lot whose salaries and social status were low, except for the well-educated who remained at one location and established their reputation, as was the case with the two mentioned above. Working conditions were poor, and the hours arduous. A typical day ran from seven in the morning to five in the evening in the summer time and from eight in the morning to four in the afternoon in the winter.[47] Salaries were often paid in foodstuffs, if at all, and were always subject to great variations. In the larger towns, the better teachers would command as much as one hundred pounds per year while in the smaller towns the going rate would be no more than ten.[48]

The actual hiring of teachers was done in various ways, depending upon the community. In New England it was a common practice for a committee of lay people to interview the candidate and make recommendations to either the minister or to the town meeting regarding the final decision. In New York and Virginia, teachers frequently were appointed and paid by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Part of the Society's hiring policy read:

> . . . no person Shall be employ'd as a Schoolmaster by the Society till he has been tryed and approved by three members appointed by the Society or Committee who shall testify by

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[47]Callahan, op. cit., p. 384.

[48]Ibid.

> word or writing to his ability to teach reading, writing, and the Catechism of the Church of England and Such exposition thereof as the Society Shall order.[49]

In New Jersey, where the Church of England had control of religious and educational matters, the legislature in 1758 made the stipulation that:

> . . . no Schoolmaster be henceforth permitted to come from England and to keep School in the said province without the license of the Bishop of London, and that no other person now there, or shall come from other parts shall be admitted to keep School in that Our said province of New Jersey, without your license first obtained.[50]

Most of the teachers during the colonial period were men. The women who did engage in teaching were in the dame schools and taught within the confines of their own homes. Women were not widely employed as teachers because of the limitations imposed upon their education and because of the nature of most teachers' duties. For the better part of the colonial period, girls were allowed to attend school only during the summer and as a consequence were taught only a little reading, writing, religion, and some spelling.[51]

Then, too, the duties often expected of teachers hardly befitted the gentler sex. The teacher was called on to render such additional services as chorister, bell-ringer, sexton, janitor, and sometimes

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[49]Knight and Hall, op. cit., p. 28.

[50]Willard S. Elsbree, The American Teacher (New York: American Book Company, 1939), p. 47.

[51]Cubberley, op. cit., p. 52.

grave-digger, as was the case with Johannes von Eckkellen of Flatbush, Long Island, in 1682. Part of his duties were to:

> . . . be choirster of the church, keep the church clean, ring the bell three times before the people assemble, read a chapter of the Bible in church . . . provide a basin of water for the administration of Baptism . . . furnish bread and wine for the communion . . . serve as messenger for the consistory . . . give the funeral invitations, dig the graves, and toll the bell . . . .[52]

Despite the attempts to improve the quality of instruction, there exists little evidence to indicate that the practice of teaching was improved because of these measures. The restrictions and requirements imposed upon teachers during this period were motivated as much by a desire to insure religious orthodoxy as they were by the determination to obtain competent teachers. The problems encountered by licensing agencies were due not only to the fact that there was a scarcity of qualified candidates, but also to the physical difficulties encountered in supervising the many schools. Added to these problems was the presence of numerous denominations in the colonies, each with its own set of standards and its own brand of Christianity.

Too frequently communities were not in a position to be selective as to the quality of schoolmaster hired. It was not uncommon to find newspapers offering for sale such items as potatoes, ham, bacon, and schoolmasters.[53]

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[52]Elsbree, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

[53]Cubberley, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

As the colonial period drew to a close, and the religious control over society weakened, more attention was given to the growing need for teachers to be better trained if the quality of education was to be improved. As early as 1751, Franklin's academy made provisions for the instruction of young people intending to become teachers.[54] The academies eventually became the principal training centers for teacher candidates for the next one hundred years.

As the Revolutionary Period approached and the prospects of an independent nation crossed the minds of colonial leaders, such men as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and James Madison, and others became convinced that popular government without a common pool of learning would be at best a foolish aspiration, and at worst, ultimately responsible for the failure of the Republic. The idea that popular intelligence was the means of perpetuating republican institutions "was derived in part from the latter eighteenth century notion that education was a function of the state rather than of the church or private enterprise."[55]

James Madison supported the concept of public education as a necessary provision in a republican form of government. He wrote at one time that, "a popular government without information or the means

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[54]Knight and Hall, op. cit., p. 31.

[55]Curti, op. cit., p. 56.

of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy or perhaps both." He is even credited with advocating "the support of education by general taxation," a position far in advance of its time and not at all popular.[56]

John Adams believed that the nation had the responsibility of educating itself. He felt that, "in a free government knowledge must be general, and ought to be universal."[57]

Washington expressed his concern for the educational welfare of the nation in his farewell address in 1798 when he stated:

> Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.[58]

The outstanding revolutionary leader whose interests in education have marked him as the father of the American secondary school system was Thomas Jefferson. He was profoundly aware of the critical need for the citizenry of the republic to be well instructed. His remark to the effect that, "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization it expects what never was and never will be,"

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[56]Paul Monroe, Founding of the American Public School System (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940), p. 202.

[57]George R. Cressman and Harold W. Benda, Public Education in America (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1961), p. 8.

[58]Callahan, op. cit., p. 112.

remains as true today as it was when first spoken.[59] On another occasion Jefferson expressed the view that: "we must have a system of free universal education that will teach our youth what is going on now and to imbue each with a desire to make his part of the world go right."[60] The founders of the country, despite the aristocratic background of most, were convinced of the necessity of an educated citizenry if the nation were to survive as a republic.

Both Franklin and Jefferson were far ahead of their time by advocating an educational philosophy destined to become part of standard American educational thought. They realized that without a continuous and integrated system of public education, democracy would perish. It was clear to them that there could be no democracy without religious freedom. Both were of the opinion that the chief object of education was to teach what was useful. As the nineteenth century wore on, public education, "free from religious and political absolutism, and orientated toward utility, was destined to gain nearly universal theoretical and practical acceptance in the United States."[61]

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[59] Ibid., p. 125.

[60] Cressman and Benda, op. cit., p. 8.

[61] Edward P. Power, Education for American Democracy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1958), p. 140.

## CHAPTER III

## EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS DURING THE EARLY NATIONAL PERIOD

The successful termination of the Revolutionary War brought to an end nearly two centuries of British control over the American colonies. And although the Americans had developed a somewhat different pattern of life than the British, and a distinctive culture in the New World, much of the aristocratic tradition developed during the eighteenth century continued to exercise a powerful influence upon the new leadership.[1] In fact, an essentially aristocratic direction was given the nation by the Federalists during the first three administrations. In 1800, the Republicans elected into office the farmer-philosopher, Thomas Jefferson, a man dedicated to the ideals of democracy and to the cause of the common man.[2]

This is not to say that the newly established national government failed to promote the abolition of the Old World institutions of

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[1]Carl H. Gross and Charles C. Chandler, The History of American Education Through Readings (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1964), p. 59.

[2]Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron, The American Republic to 1865, Vol. I (2 Vols.: Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959), p. 293.

primogeniture and entail. Entail had largely ceased to exist after 1786, and primogeniture by 1800.[3] The removal of these aristocratic devices to control the wealth of the land made more land available and lessened the threat of a landed aristocracy in the country. Yet, the fact remains, the leaders who precipitated the Revolution hoped to achieve a revolution by gentlemen for gentlemen with the aid of the common people but not necessarily to the political or social advantage of the commoners.[4] The Revolutionary War was supported, not by a homogeneous, democratically minded army, but by factions of high-born and low-born, each intent upon capitalizing upon the revolutionary enterprise.[5] Once the war was over, smoldering antagonisms caused the new nation considerable embarrassment and forced it into near bankruptcy. Unfortunately, the spirit of nationalism generated during the revolutionary period failed to supplant the provincialism which was so characteristic of early American life.[6] In fact, the forces destined to divide the country were already in evidence before the turn of the century. The nation, rather than unifying behind the national government,

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[3]Leland D. Baldwin, The Stream of American History (New York: American Book Company, 1952), p. 273.

[4]John C. Miller, Origins of the American Revolution (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1965), p. 498.

[5]Ibid., pp. 501-505.

[6]Merle Curti, The Social Ideas of American Educators (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), p. 65.

found itself split into "three sharply contrasting and often bitterly antagonistic societies and ways of life."[7] The most critical rift within the country was between the North and the South where the economic, social, and political forces expressed themselves in the forms of ". . . industrialism versus plantation agrarianism, democracy versus aristocracy, and nationalism versus 'states' rights.'"[8]

The development of the West was facilitated by the Basic Land Ordinance of 1785 which provided that townships be divided into thirty-six lots of 640 acres each, and that one lot in each township be set aside for the support of public schools.[9] Two years later the Congress of the Confederation scored its greatest achievement by ratifying the Northwest Ordinance. As a result of this legislation the territory north of the Ohio was to be governed initially by a governor, a secretary, and three judges appointed by Congress. In due time, a bicameral legislature was to be established, and ultimately the territory was to be divided into states, enjoying parity with the original thirteen in every respect.[10] In addition to the above provisions, there was granted the

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[7]Max Savelle, American Civilization (New York: The Dryden Press, 1957), p. 266.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Richard B. Morris (ed.), Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), p. 113.

[10]Ibid., p. 117.

right of trial by jury, the freedom to worship according to one's belief, and, in the interests of good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education were forever to be encouraged.[11] The vast western lands provided the young nation with opportunities which could hardly be realized under Old World conditions or within the confines of tradition-bound societies such as existed in the North and South. The West offered to those ready to meet the challenge a new life free from the bondage of masters, land-owners, and creditors. It demanded an individualism, an opportunism, and a spirit of self-reliance which were to become prime ingredients in the democratic ethic.[12]

The industrial North was more conscious of the need for education than either the West or the South. The Industrial Revolution formed the economic backbone of the North where it was found financially advantageous to be educated. The Southerner and the Westerner soon realizes that if they were to keep abreast of the times and if they were to maintain their equality with an increasingly powerful North, the services of education would be indispensible.[13]

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[11]Stuart G. Noble, A History of American Education (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1938), p. 104.

[12]Gross and Chandler, op. cit., p. 60.

[13]Ibid.

Other factors, as well, contributed to the realization that a formal system of education was needed. During the opening decades of the nineteenth century the spirit of liberalism became more prevalent. A more liberal attitude was taken regarding the freedom of speech and of the press, accompanied by the gradual elimination of religious and property restrictions upon voting privileges. The reins of power were shifting from the hands of those of fortune and talent to those of the small farmer, artisan, and shopkeeper. All of these changes in the social structure emphasized the importance of the individual in American society and the growing power of the common man. Old World concepts based on traditional orthodoxy, aristocratic hegemony, and intellectual conformity were being challenged and superceded in the New World by the forces of liberalism, equalitarianism, humanitarianism, and faith in the perfectibility of man. The belief in the progress of humanity had a unique setting in an environment destined to fulfill that promise. That education should play an essential role in the evolution of these concepts was a natural corollary. Education reflected the revolutionary changes which occurred in American social, political, economic, and religious life during the period. The educational processes in America abandoned Old World patterns of conformity and gradually adopted new methods designed to accommodate national needs.[14]

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[14]S. E. Frost, Jr., Historical and Philosophical Foundations of Western Education (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1966), p. 314.

Along with the growth of these forces, and the recognition of the rights of the common man, grew the sense of nationalism. After having lived through the period of the Articles of Confederation, and having experienced the humiliations incurred during the War of 1812, Americans were learning to work together in an effort to further the common good. They found it easier to identify with their own developing traditions, and to work to realize their hopes and aspirations within the context of a uniquely American culture. Nationalism promoted the idea of universal education in preparation for universal suffrage. Good citizens would need to know the history, the language, and the direction of the new nation, and how to survive economically in it. Youngsters would soon be at the helm of the ship of state. A responsible electorate necessitated a responsive educational system.

This is not to suggest that the spirit of nationalism succeeded in extinguishing the fires of sectional differences. The War of 1812 did tend to minimize antagonisms for a short period of time, but during the years that followed the domestic scene became less peaceful. As troubles with Europe subsided, sectional antagonisms grew more complicated and more difficult to solve. Added to this was the fact that the old aristocracy was having to make way for the growing numbers of middle class citizens who were controlling more of the nation's politics, business, and wealth. And the common man, too, was exercising greater influence, as witnessed by the achievement of

nearly universal, white, male suffrage by the 1820's, and the period of Jacksonian democracy, sometimes referred to as "The Rise of the Common Man."[15]

Jacksonian democracy represented a culmination of a process which had been developing throughout the opening years of the century. The spirit of the nation:

> . . . esteemed individualism and enterprise, although it began by attacking political privileges, it ended by attacking economic privileges, to insure broader business opportunities for the enterprising common man. Nor did democracy stop with politics and economics; it affected education and the professions, literature and religion.[16]

The paradox of the Jacksonian era was that while Jacksonianism was represented by a laissez faire philosophy regarding governmental control, in practice the central government was strengthened and enlarged, especially at the executive level.[17] Jackson was the champion of the democratic era, yet he was accused of using despotic methods in the administration of his office, and of bequeathing to the country the evils of greater centralization under a growing bureaucratic system of government.[18]

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[15]Hofstadter, Miller, and Aaron, op. cit., p. 390.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Glynden G. Van Deusen, The Jacksonian Era (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. xi.

[18]Edwin C. Rozwenc (ed.), The Meaning of Jacksonian Democracy (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1963), pp. 77-80, citing Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson.

It was at this time that education became enmeshed in the social and political struggles for control on the part of industrial capitalism on the one hand and agrarianism on the other. It was used as a device by each group to further its own purposes. Education was never the "paramount issue" but the means used to secure desired ends.[19]

Four major characteristics or tendencies may be identified in the development of education during this period. First of all, after the revolution, and in the face of the rising force of the democratic spirit, it occurred to some of the leaders in the country that there was a critical need for a fundamental reorganization of the educational program on a national scale if the republican direction of society were to be continued and improved.[20] This movement was in opposition to the "prevailing antigovernmental complex" which dictated that the less government interfered in the affairs of society the better.[21]

There was, secondly, a widespread attempt to extend the benefits of education by means of philanthropic agencies. Sunday schools, infant schools, and parochial schools were reflections of this

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[19]Gross and Chandler, op. cit., p. 120, citing S. L. Jackson's America's Struggle for Free Schools (American Council on Public Affairs, 1941), pp. 172-173.

[20]Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey, The School in the American Social Order (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963), p. 234.

[21]Rozwenc, op. cit., p. 78.

trend. Joseph Lancaster's monitorial system of instruction generated a great deal of interest and provided, it appeared, wholesale education at a minimum cost which could be born by philanthropic agencies.[22] These schools became quite popular for a short period of time but were later found to lack the ability to do much more than promote rote learning as opposed to critical thinking. Although one teacher with the aid of assistants might instruct hundreds of pupils, little more than factual learning and rote memory drill could be achieved.[23]

A third characteristic in American education during this period "was the increased emphasis on private educational institutions."[24] The academy was an outstanding example of this trend. It developed into the predominate type of secondary school in the United States. The reason for this was twofold. Public education lacked the personnel and facilities to provide quality education for those who wanted it. It was left to those who could afford it to provide for themselves. As a result, those who could not pay for an education were deprived of it. There was also the attitude on the ". . . exponents of the theory of laissez faire to regard education as a matter for private enterprise--an attitude

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[22]Ibid.

[23]Gross and Chandler, op. cit., p. 69.

[24]Edwards and Richey, op. cit., p. 232.

more easily entertained by reason of the bewildering multiplication of sectarian seminaries and academies."[25]

The fourth trend of this period was the expanded scope of educational objectives and the introduction of new materials to achieve those objectives. Formal education was required not only to give the student direction regarding matters of morals, but was expected to safeguard and advance America's democratic experiment in political and social institutions. As education became more independent of religious control and less concerned with classical studies, so secular subjects of a more pragmatic nature were given a greater place in the curriculum with the result that young people were better able to meet the economic and social realities of the times.[26]

This did not occur overnight. The academies were gradually developing their own course of studies during the second half of the eighteenth century. As early as 1786, Thomas Jefferson indicated the direction given to education by those aware of the needs of the new nation. He asked, "What are the objects of a useful American education?" His reply to the question was:

> Classical knowledge, modern languages, chiefly French, Spanish, and Italian; mathematics, natural philosophy, natural history, civil history and ethics. In natural philosophy I mean to include

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[25]Curti, op. cit., p. 74.

[26]Edwards and Richey, op. cit., p. 233.

> chemistry and agriculture, and in natural history, to include botany, as well as other branches of the departments.[27]

The secularization of education had long been under way, occurring simultaneously with the democratization of society. With the decline of theocratic control in the colonies during the seventeenth century, the religious orientation of the curriculum had been redirected in favor of classical studies--a shift best represented by the Latin Grammar schools. The eighteenth century schools were more aristocratically orientated than their predecessors and less concerned with matters of theology, as witnessed by the dropping of Greek and Hebrew from some of the curricula. Later, as the aristocratic nature of the schools began to give way to a need for more practical information, the schools began de-emphasizing the classical curriculum and introducing subjects of a more practical nature, such as surveying, bookkeeping, navigation, geometry, etc.[28] The academies reached their peak of popularity by the mid-nineteenth century when they began to be replaced by the high school which was publicly supported rather than privately supported as was the academy.[29]

At the elementary level, the curriculum was expanded and enriched in response to the changing character of American society.

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[27]Gross and Chandler, op. cit., p. 86.

[28]Edwards and Richey, op. cit., p. 271.

[29]Gross and Chandler, op. cit., p. 70.

Spelling and reading were materially improved by the publication of new texts by Noah Webster and Caleb Bingham. Arithmetic was also advanced by the appearance of new texts by Nicholas Pike (1788) and Warren Colburn (1821). English usage acquired a degree of support with the publication of Lindley Murray's grammar in 1795. Geography and history were introduced into the elementary curriculum during this time and the work of Morris, Elements of Geography (1795), and of Goodrich, A History of the United States (1822), helped to popularize these subjects.[30]

Despite the democratic direction in which colonial and early national education was headed, the aristocratic tradition was still strong in this country and caused some educators serious concern. Noah Webster, for one, "was deeply convinced that the form of education employed in colonial times, if continued, would perpetuate the traditions of the old monarchical governments."[31] He supported a centralized form of government and was instrumental in organizing the movement to draft the Federal Constitution.[32] Yet, despite the fact that he "remained an ardent Federalist to the end of his life," he did not shrink from reprimanding the president, George Washington, for

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[30]Edwards and Richey, op. cit., p. 275.

[31]Noble, op. cit., p. 100.

[32]John C. Clifton, Ten Famous American Educators (Columbus, Ohio: R. G. Adams and Company, 1933), p. 109.

violating the limits imposed upon the executive branch by the Constitution.[33] He believed that the youth of the country should be thoroughly acquainted with the principles of constitutional government, and to this end he published in 1784 his Grammatical Institute of the English Language in three parts. The first part consisted of his famous Elementary Spelling Book, better known as the "Blueback Speller."[34] This little book, containing exercises in reading and providing useful information in the moral, scientific, and political fields, sold in the vicinity of eighty million copies and earned for Webster the title: "Schoolmaster to America."[35]

Webster was more influential than any other individual in providing the nation with a positive identity by means of standardizing much of the spelling then prevalent, and extending those standards to the whole nation. He also used his texts to inculcate republican precepts and to instill a respect for the American way of life.

Educators were forced to face more serious problems than those posed by the need to improve curricula, however, if they were going to keep their profession abreast of the times. The Industrial Revolution, which had begun in England in the 1730's, had spread to the United

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[33]Noah Webster, Miscellaneous Papers on Political and Commercial Subjects (New York: Burt Franklin, 1967), pp. 74-80.

[34]Noble, op. cit., p. 100.

[35]Ibid., p. 101.

States during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Not all the changes it brought were for the better, for with industrialization came major urban problems such as destitution, filth, moral decay, and juvenile delinquency. Capitalism had produced fortunes for the few at the expense of the many. There was little concerted opposition to the exploitation of labor. It was a common opinion held by many of the wealthy that the common man would best serve society by remaining at his station in life and not aspiring to achieve a position above that in which he found himself. From this point of view, the managerial class could argue that education might prove detrimental to society if it tended to alter the status quo by equipping the lower classes with greater knowledge than their situation demanded.[36]

It has been estimated that in the industrial centers in 1830, forty percent of the laborers in factories were children of school age.[37] Labor conditions had made little improvement a decade later, according to the report of a contemporary of the times, Orestes Brownson, who wrote of the girls employed in Lowell, Massachusetts:

> "The great mass wear out their health, spirits, and morals without becoming one whit better off than when they commenced labor. The bills of mortality in these factory villages are not

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[36]Carroll Atkinson, The Story of Education (Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 1965), p. 102.

[37]Gross and Chandler, op. cit., p. 68.

> striking, we admit, for the poor girls when they can toil no longer go home to die."[38]

And yet the workingman in the north was inclined to support free compulsory education, regarding it as a means by which his children could escape the ills of poverty and attain a better way of life.[39]

Other causes for concern were the spectacular changes which took place in the numbers and location of the population after 1790. In that year of the first census, an estimated four million people lived in the United States, ninety percent of whom were concentrated on the Atlantic seaboard from Maine to Georgia. Virginia was the most populous state followed by Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and New York. Only five cities could claim a population in excess of 8,000, representing less than four percent of the population of 1790.[40] Between 1790 and 1860 the population grew at a rate of about thirty-five percent each decade. By 1830 the population of the 1790's had tripled and the U. S. land area had more than doubled.[41] And, whereas ninety percent of the population was located east of the Alleghenies in 1790, only fifty-five percent was left by 1850. The westward movement had claimed nearly

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[38]Hofstadter, Miller, Aaron, op. cit., p. 383.

[39]Savelle, op. cit., pp. 297-298.

[40]Willard S. Elsbree, The American Teacher (New York: The American Book Company, 1939), p. 127.

[41]Don Golenpaul (ed.), Information Please Almanac, 1966 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965), p. 295.

half of the population.[42] These figures indicate the mobility of the U. S. population and the difficulty many would have had obtaining an education had they wanted one. Nor is there any wonder that the quality of public education diminished during this period.

Added to the problems of educating a growing and mobile citizenry was the complicating factor of immigration. Between the years 1776 and 1812, the rate of immigration was not great, amounting to about a quarter of a million people. After 1815, however, immigration increased precipitously, and was partly responsible for the wave of nationalism which swept the country shortly after the War of 1812.[43] In 1817 alone, an estimated thirty thousand people came to these shores. During the 1820's, the influx was reduced to a trickle due to the industrial collapse of 1819 and the bad publicity spread about by those interested in discouraging the emigration of labor from Europe. By the end of the twenties the American economy enjoyed an upswing at a time when troubles in Europe were heightening. After the European revolutions of 1830 had been crushed, another wave of immigration hit the United States.[44] Between 1830 and 1860 some five million immigrants were absorbed into American society. This influx was partly

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[42]Gross and Chandler, op. cit., p. 127.

[43]Baldwin, op. cit., pp. 603-604.

[44]Elsbree, op. cit., p. 125.

responsible for the urban population quadrupling between the years 1790 and 1860 despite the mass migration westward.

The nation, then, was undergoing a profound transformation under the impact of the Industrial Revolution, territorial expansion, western migration, immigration, and the rise of the common man. Complicating the picture was the fact that the growing industrial complex was causing a greater chasm to exist between the stratas of society, resulting in two antipathetic camps, later identified as labor and management. The alarming degree to which many members of the working class had been degraded caused some to take steps to rectify the situation of those less fortunate. Humanitarians, philantropists, communitarians, socialists, etc., believing in the capabilities of the country to produce a better society, began to make strenuous efforts to improve existing conditions.

It was at this time that the first great wave of temperance reform swept the country. Reforms were instituted in prisons, insane asylums, and for the deaf and dumb. Agitation to abolish slavery was begun by New England clergymen and intellectual leaders.[45] Simultaneously, religious revivals spread across the country, originating in the Northeast between New York and Vermont, a section later

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[45]Ross L. Finney, A Brief History of the American Public Schools (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925), p. 115.

known as the "Burnt District."[46] Here were found the Swedenborgians, Shakers, vegetarians, wielders of divining rods, and ". . . even a sect of men who refused to wash or shave and would wear only bearskin tunics."[47]

All of these movements were related; they were all attempts to improve the human condition. That public education should become part of this movement was only reasonable. The reform efforts made in behalf of education were expressions of the same humanitarian crusade which motivated the temperance movement and the anti-slavery crusade.[48]

Under the impact of the reform movement, the extension of the franchise, and an increasing population, it became obvious that an improved and expanded educational system would have to be provided. If the nation had to depend upon an intelligent electorate, it became apparent that the citizenry would have to be equipped with a more efficient and more extensive educational system. The "Great Educational Awakening" grew out of this realization.[49] The normal school movement was but a part of this Awakening. Both were efforts to improve the existing educational system.

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[46]Baldwin, op. cit., p. 626.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Noble, op. cit., p. 175.

[49]Finney, op. cit., p. 116.

There were at least three areas of major concern to educators at this time: (1) the chaotic pattern of elementary school teaching, (2) the growing awareness of the need for a program of teacher-training, and (3) the establishment and promotion of state normal schools.[50]

The pedagogy of the early 1800's was severely authoritarian, a tradition inherited from colonial days, and more appropriate for an aristocratic society intent upon perpetuating itself, rather than for a democratic society distinguished by such qualities as independence and self-government. As a result, by the 1820's the situation for the common people was possibly worse, so far as educational opportunities went, than during the colonial period. What caused this was the rise of the factory system in the Northeast, the extension of slavery in the South, the decline of the old apprenticeship brought about by industrialization, and the exploitation of the labor market. Child labor was used along with adult labor, and public health and safety laws, as well as public school attendance laws, were either non-existent or not enforced in the majority of cases.[51]

In the schools that did exist, conditions were far from bright. Efforts made since colonial days to better the educational standards of the local communities had not met with great success. Public school

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[50]William E. Drake, The American School in Transition (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955), p. 369.

[51]Curti, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

buildings of the early nineteenth century were frequently crude and inadequately equipped. Ill-prepared teachers taught or tried to teach poorly motivated pupils a course of studies out of touch with the needs of the day. Discipline, often in the form of harsh physical punishment, became a major duty of the teacher.[52]

The teacher corps itself left much to be desired. In his twelfth annual report as secretary to the State Board of Education in Massachusetts, Horace Mann indicated that in the early nineteenth century, "The business of school-keeping fell more and more into the hands of youth and the inexperienced; so that in rare instances only, did the maturity of years preside over the indiscretions of the young . . . ."[53]

It has been common practice since colonial days to recruit teachers from all classes of society. Little preparation went into a teacher's background and little effort was spent on improving teacher qualifications. Yet there were those who were well aware of the need for a better trained teacher corps. Franklin's academy represents early evidence of colonial recognition of the need for more qualified teachers. When the academy was opened in 1751 the provision was made "that a number of the poorer Sort will be hereby qualified to act as Schoolmasters

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[52]Gross and Chandler, op. cit., p. 691.

[53]Robert C. Whittemore, Makers of the American Mind (New York: William Marrow and Company, 1964), p. 205.

in the Country, to teach children Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and the grammar of their mother tongue . . . ."[54]

As the academies grew in number, they became the most representative type of teacher training center. For roughly one hundred years, between 1750 and 1850, academies were the ". . . chief if not the only source of trained teachers--trained only in the sense that they had received a somewhat more advanced course in subject matter than they were to teach."[55] And this was the case despite the fact that teacher training centers were being established during the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

This fact must not be misconstrued, however. Teacher preparation programs that did exist were grossly inadequate to meet the needs of existing conditions. The general attitude of the American public was that little or no training was necessary for the teachers of public schools. Preparation to teach was thought to be sufficient if one completed the common school and had a good moral character.[56] The fact that little or no training was required or expected of our early

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[54]Edgar W. Knight and Clifton L. Hall, Readings in American Educational History (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1961), p. 31.

[55]Paul Monroe (ed.), Cyclopedia of Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), V, 515.

[56]Freeman R. Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin, A History of Education in American Culture (New York: Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1953), p. 286.

teachers stems from the attitude that ". . . anyone who knows his subject can teach it."[57] This opinion has persisted into the twentieth century and continues to be expressed to this day.

The American public was conditioned to the idea that professional training was not a necessary part of a teacher's background. As a consequence, teachers were more involved with school keeping than with school teaching.[58] Part of the problem of gaining the support needed to establish the normal school as a publicly financed, permanent institution in this country was the necessity of re-educating the public to the idea that skilled teachers had to be given formal training before they could perform at a professional level.[59]

There is ample evidence to indicate that educators did recognize the need for teacher training centers and that efforts were made to establish and maintain such centers. A pioneer in the field of teacher training was Zion Parnassus of Salisbury, North Carolina, who carried on a training program between the years 1785-1811.[60] In New England the Massachusetts Magazine published an article in

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[57]Velorus Martz and Henry L. Smith, An Introduction to Education (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941), pp. 259-260.

[58]Elsbree, op. cit., p. 145.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Drake, op. cit., p. 372.

1789 in which the author urged that there be established institutions to prepare young men for the work of schoolmasters.[61] Benjamin Rish, in 1790, complained of the low esteem in which teachers were held. He pointed out that "the occupation of school-master is truly dignified. He is, next to mothers, the most important member of civil society."[62] Rush asked his readers, "why then is there so little rank connected with that occupation?" He expressed the opinion that teachers occupied a low station in society because they used despotic and violent means to perform their duties. He believed that if school-masters would only "cease to be tyrants," they would ". . . enjoy the respect and rank which are naturally connected with their profession."[63]

By 1794 a group of teachers in New York City had formed the Society of Associated Teachers. Among the goals of their organization was the formulation of qualifications for teachers.[64] In 1805, through the efforts of Mayor DeWitt Clinton, the New York Free School Society was established to educate poor children. The society offered a two-month training course specifically designed to train teachers for this

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[61]Ellwood P. Cubberley, Public Education in the United States (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936), p. 372.

[62]Knight, op. cit., p. 403.

[63]Ibid.

[64]Atkinson, op. cit., p. 352.

level of work.[65] In 1816, Denison Olmsted outlined a plan for "a seminary for teachers," declaring that the pupils should:

> . . . study and recite whatever they were themselves afterwards to teach, partly for the purpose of acquiring a more perfect knowledge of these subjects and partly learning from the methods adopted by the principal the best modes of teaching.[66]

In 1818, Philadelphia was able to open a model school for the training of teachers. Yet these efforts produced little results in comparison to existing needs.

By the 1820's the movement to establish teacher training centers had gathered momentum as more people became aware of the problem. Numerous publications appeared during the early 1820's such as William E. Russell's Suggestions on Education (1832), J. L. Kingsley's The School Fund and the Common School of Connecticut (1823), Thomas E. Gallaudet's Plan of a Seminary for the Education of Instructors of Youth (1825), and Walter R. Johnson's Observations on the Improvement of Seminaries of Learning in the U. S. with Suggestions for Its Accomplishment (1825).[67] These publications with others, appearing at about the same time in widely scattered parts of the

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[65]Cubberley, op. cit., p. 124.

[66]William M. French, America's Educational Tradition: An Interpretive History (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1964), p. 99, citing J. P. Gordy's Rise and Growth of the Normal School Idea in the United States.

[67]Edgar W. Knight, Education in the United States (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1929), p. 515.

country, suggested that teacher preparation was in the minds of many of the more astute observers of the period.

One cause of the public's growing awareness of the need for more and better trained teachers was the fact that the expanding country had admitted seven new states between 1812 and 1821. Some of the states, which had never had an educational system, were in search of teachers to employ in the newly created school districts. Besides this, there were a growing number of academies and institutes of higher learning requiring that students be better trained in fundamental skills. This was the task of the common school. It was, therefore, in this region that the critical need existed.[68] And it was in this region that schoolmen began to take the steps which would eventually lead to the establishment of centers where teachers could be trained to meet the commitments society was placing upon education.

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[68]Daniel Calhoun, The Educating of Americans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969), pp. 175-178.

# CHAPTER IV

## THE FIRST NORMAL SCHOOLS IN AMERICA

As the nation moved into the first quarter of the nineteenth century, there arose an increased demand for better teachers to staff the new schools being built. Qualifications for teachers had been minimal, as already mentioned, amounting to little more than that the candidate profess Christianity, have some knowledge of the subject matter, and be able to maintain order. In fact, the problem of discipline had become so critical by 1837 that 300 schools in Massachusetts alone had to be closed because of the unruly nature of the students.[1]

In 1825, Walter R. Johnson of Pennsylvania, in his Observations on the Improvement of Seminaries of Learning in the United States, was critical of the fact that society provided for "theological seminaries--law schools--medical colleges--military academies--institutes for mechanics--and colleges of pharmacy for apothecaries" but no place for adequately preparing teachers to meet their

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[1]David B. Tyack (ed.), Turning Points in American Educational History (Waltham, Massachusetts: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1967), p. 413.

responsibilities on a professional level.[2] Johnson, as most of the crusaders of his day who represented the lot of the common man, was not particularly concerned with improving the schools nor the teachers attending the needs of the rich. It was rather the commoner's schools and the teachers therein that concerned him. "Poor schools" were for those who could afford no better. They suffered in reputation and tended to accentuate the distinction between rich and poor. There were the schools, Johnson argued, that needed to be improved.[3] In an effort to cure "those most distressing maladies, ignorance and moral degradation," Johnson proposed "the introduction of a class of schools hitherto unknown in our country, but for which the public exegencies seem loudly to call, and those are schools for teachers."[4]

Charles Brooks, the clergyman who aided Carter and Mann in Massachusetts, expressed his position regarding the educational system when he remarked:

> The whole practical philosophy of the school system may be summed up in these eight words, "as is the teacher, so is the school." The nineteenth century demands a higher type of

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[2]Daniel Calhoun (ed.), The Educating of Americans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969), p. 177.

[3]Ibid., p. 175.

[4]Ibid.

> teachers; teachers who are more than a match for the intense mental activity of the age, and who can more than master its tyrannous selfishness.[5]

A contemporary of Brooks and Carter, who was also actively seeking ways to better the teaching corps in the common schools was Samuel Read Hall (1795-1877). Hall blamed the decline in public education on several factors. He was not alone when he pointed out that financial and educational causes were at the root of the problem. He accused the wealthy of not supporting the public schools. School buildings were in a state of disrepair, teachers ranked among the lowest paid of the public servants, and they were "inadequately prepared" for the responsibilities they held.[6] Salaries for teachers were not infrequently below those of scrubwomen and day laborers.[7] In 1841 the average weekly salary for women in the state of Massachusetts was $2.51 and for men $4.15.[8] Teachers were not only paid starvation wages. They were subject to the strictest forms of social conformity. They were closely watched by the community, expected to abhor drink and tobacco, to be zealots of the church, to observe punctual hours, to be

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[5]Carl H. Gross and Charles C. Chandler, The History of American Education Through Readings (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1964), pp. 105-106.

[6]William Marshall French, Education for All (New York: Odyssey Press, 1955), p. 99.

[7]Tyack, op. cit., p. 414.

[8]Ibid., p. 413.

devoid of political opinions, to remain neutral on all matters of an argumentative nature, and to deny themselves the attractions of the opposite sex.[9]

Although Hall was a Congregational minister, he was also active in the field of teaching and something of an educational innovator in his day. He reportedly was the first to make use of blackboards which he employed in his own schools[10] and is "credited with persuading pupils in the district school to write compositions--a then unheard-of innovation."[11] His greatest achievement was scored in 1823 when, after ten years of teaching in the district schools and carrying on his ministerial duties, Hall became the first person in this country to open a private seminary exclusively for the instruction of teachers of the common schools.

The course of studies extended over a three-year period and included those subjects taught in the academy, such as history, geography, philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, and logic. His students were also afforded the opportunity for classroom observations and practice teaching. During the last year of studies he offered a new

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[9]Ibid., p. 376.

[10]Paul Monroe, Cyclopedia of Education, Vol. 3, p. 209. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), III, 209.

[11]French, op. cit., p. 99.

course, entitled the "Art of Teaching."[12] For this course he wrote a series of "Lectures on Schoolkeeping" which he was persuaded to publish in 1829. This publication became the first educational "best-seller" in English intended primarily for teachers in America.[13]

As a minister of the Lord, it was only natural that Hall was motivated by his religious beliefs. In his Lectures, he expressed the idea that whoever:

> ". . . regards it as a matter of indifference, whether his child can read the sacred scriptures understandingly or not, whether they form their moral taste from the writings of inspired men or heathen philosophers, must be considered as not realizing his own moral accountability."[14]

As for "the requisite qualifications of an instructor," Hall considered common sense to be "the first" in the order of importance.[15] By it he meant the ability to face the realities of life, the use of judgment and discrimination, and a "proper sense of propriety in regard to the common affairs of life."[16] Other character traits of the instructor

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[12]Ellwood P. Cubberley, The History of Education in the United States (New York: Houghton-Mifflin and Company, 1913), p. 375.

[13]Ibid., p. 376.

[14]Merle Curti, The Social Ideas of American Educators (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), p. 18, citing Wright and Gardner's Hall's Lectures on Schoolkeeping, 1929, p. 53.

[15]Gross and Chandler, op. cit., p. 406.

[16]Ibid.

Hall pointed out were "uniformity of temper," the ability to understand and discriminate among personalities, a decisive nature in regard to decision making, and finally "moral discernment."[17] He believed, as most educators of his day, that "the cultivation of virtuous propensities is more important to children than even their intellectual culture."[18] As he put it:

> An instructor without moral feeling, not only brings ruin to the children placed under his care, but does injury to their parents, to the neighborhood, to the town, and, doubtless to other generations.[19]

In addition to his Lectures, Hall also published student textbooks, including The Child's Assistant in 1827, Geography for Children, and School History of the United States, both in 1832, and School Arithmetic in 1836.[20]

Hall first opened the doors of his new school on March 11, 1923, in Concord, Vermont. He remained at his post in Concord until 1830, at which time he moved to Andover, Massachusetts, where he remained until 1837. His final move was to Plymouth where he stayed until 1840.[21]

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[17]Ibid., p. 407.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Ibid.

[20]French, op. cit., p. 99.

[21]Cubberley, op. cit., p. 375.

The success of his work may be judged by the fact that shortly after opening his teacher seminary he was graduating twenty to fifty students a year with certificates authorizing them to teach. His graduates were in demand throughout New England and in the neighboring states.[22] Hall's experiment, though successful on a limited scale, did indicate two things. First, that private seminaries could hardly be supported without the aid of the state. Second, the demand for qualified teachers was so great that it made the task of satisfying this need by private institutions virtually impossible. Educational reformers were to capitalize on the lesson derived from Hall's experiment and to campaign for state supported teacher training centers. In memory of the Reverend Hall, the state of Vermont erected a monument on the site of the first private normal school in America. On a plaque at this site, Hall is given credit for being the "Originator of America's Systems of Teacher Training--Author of the First Text-Book on Teaching Published in America--Pioneer in the Use of the Blackboard as a Schoolroom Appliance."[23]

A contemporary of Hall and one of the outstanding educational reformers of the nineteenth century was James G. Carter (1795-1849),

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[22]French, op. cit., p. 99.

[23]William E. Drake, The American School in Transition (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955), p. 386.

a farmer's son who had become interested in education while in school at Harvard.[24] Carter was largely responsible for the establishment of the first state normal school in this country. In February of 1825 he published a "comprehensive and brilliant essay" entitled "An Outline of an Institution for the Education of Teachers," which earned for him the title "Father of Normal Schools in Massachusetts."[25] Many of the ideas advocated by Carter in 1825 were incorporated into the schools which were established in 1839 and thereafter. In his essay, Carter appealed to tradition and the pride New Englanders felt for their past when he wrote:

> Our ancestors ventured to do what the world had never done before, in so perfect a manner, when they established the free schools. Let us also do what they have never so well done yet, and establish an institution for the exclusive purpose of preparing instructors for them.[26]

Elementary teachers, with few exceptions, were not competent to meet the needs of the day. The fact that there were no standards regarding teaching qualifications exposed the profession to many abuses. Carter called these abuses to the attention of the public when he recounted the problems the common schools were having with teacher personnel:

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[24]Carroll Atkinson, The Story of Education (Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 1965), p. 105.

[25]Arthur O. Norton (ed.), The First State Normal School in America. The Journals of Cyrus Peirce and Mary Swift (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1926), pp. xxxiv and 227 respectively.

[26]Ibid., pp. 229-230.

many of the teachers were very young, rarely educated beyond the grades they were to teach, frequently changed their place of employment, lacked experience, and even more serious in Carter's eyes was the fact that these would-be teachers never had the opportunity of training for the work they undertook. The first step toward eliminating these deficiencies, in Carter's opinion, was to "establish an institution for the exclusive purpose of preparing instructors."[27] He was insistent that it would do ". . . absolutely no good to constitute an independent tribunal to decide on the qualifications of teachers, while they have not had the opportunities necessary for coming up to the proper standard."[28] What he had in mind when he proposed that teacher candidates be given instructions before entering the classroom was suggested when he stated that "the science of teaching--for it must be made a science--is first in the order of nature, to be inculcated. And it is to this point that the public attention must first be turned to effect any essential improvement."[29]

An essential part of the science of teaching, in Carter's view, was the art of communication. He believed that this aspect

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[27]Gross and Chandler, op. cit., p. 154.

[28]Norton, op. cit., p. 227.

[29]Ibid., p. 228.

of teaching constituted a serious deficiency on the part of many instructors. In fact, he emphatically stated that:

> Instructors and pupils do not understand each other. They do not speak the same language. They may use the same words; but this can hardly be called the same language, while they attach to them such very different meanings.[30]

Carter believed, therefore, that teachers had to be skilled in the techniques of communication as well as being informed. He did not equate the possession of knowledge with the ability to communicate with others. Both, he felt, were essential to the practice of teaching. He pointed out that when a teacher is sought, inquiry is made as to his wealth of knowledge while little attention is paid to his ability to communicate. The latter qualification Carter considered to be as important as the first. He insisted that unless a teacher was able to communicate what he knew, it made little difference how learned he was. The teacher and the student might use the same words, but the problem arose with the different meaning given the words by the speaker and the listener. One solution to this problem was to provide the schools with a corps of well trained teachers. Neither the quality of education received nor the numbers of teachers produced by the academies was sufficient to meet the growing needs of the common schools. Carter complained that the academies, private in nature and

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[30] Ibid.

beyond the reach of the poor, were not serving the needs of "nineteen twentieths" of the people of the state.[31] He pointed out that the original intention of the academies was not to prepare teachers for the common or free schools:

> . . . the preparation of instructors for the free schools never formed a part of the original design of the academies. They were intended to afford instruction in other and higher branches of education, than those usually taught in the free schools; and not merely to give better instruction in the same branches.[32]

Carter believed that training centers had to be established to provide the training necessary to enable teachers to do a better job at the elementary level. He outlined his plan for a teacher's seminary when he recommended that there be a board of commissioners or a group of citizens to represent the interests of the community. The school would be designed primarily for preparing students to teach, yet, for those who wished a general education, this type of curriculum would also be made available. In this way, the community in which the school was located would be better accommodated. He felt, too, that there should be an instructor for the different departments. This idea was eventually implemented, but not in the early days when such specialization could not be supported financially. Finally, Carter advocated a library

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[31] Calhoun, op. cit., p. 180.

[32] Ibid.

available to service the needs of instructors and students. Eventually, these ideas became part of the normal school system.[33]

Carter expressed the fear that if no legislative action were taken to alleviate the deteriorating conditions existing in the common schools, they would be faced with extinction within twenty years.[34] During the late 1830's, less than a third of the children of school age were attending the public schools in Massachusetts, and of these, fewer yet attended for the better part of the school year. If the conditions in Massachusetts were poor, conditions in the other states could only have been worse.[35]

The causes of poor public school attendance were several. As already mentioned, in the industrial centers, large numbers of children were employed in the factories.[36] In rural areas, schools were more difficult to finance, teachers were harder to find and they were generally less qualified, and attendance was made more difficult because of the distances involved. Another reason, however, that public school attendance at this period was on the decline in proportion to population growth was the support given to private schools.

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[33]Norton, op. cit., pp. 234-240.

[34]Curti, op. cit., p. 106.

[35]Ibid.

[36]In 1830, 40% of the labor force was estimated to be children of school age. See page 56, Chapter III.

Horace Mann, the first Secretary of the State Board of Education in Massachusetts, referred to these conditions when he pointed out that ". . . the private school system was rapidly absorbing the funds, patronizing the talent, and withdrawing the sympathy, which belonged to the public schools!"[37] The trend towards private education, supported by those who could afford it, did insure a degree of quality in the private educational program. In doing this, it deprived the public school system of the good teachers that did exist, as well as absorbing the financial support needed to improve public education. Mann made mention of this when he criticized those who were content to follow the aristocratic pattern established by the British system of private schooling in favor of the more democratically designed public school system.

The private school system had not grown up in the United States without design or purpose. The advocates of private education in the United States were very much opposed to the democratic direction of society during the Jacksonian Era. The great concern of the "intellectual leadership" in the Northeast was to stem the democratic tide taken by society.[38] Positions of leadership and authority were being challenged at every level. Therefore, it became necessary "to

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[37]Robert C. Whittemore, Makers of the American Mind (New York: William Marrow and Company, 1964), p. 205.

[38]Gross and Chandler, op. cit., pp. 120-121.

use the Church, the school, and whatever other means of propaganda [available] to buttress the claims of the Elect, politically and theologically."[39] In this respect, education was used as a tool, as a means and not as an end, in an effort to establish greater and more lasting gains--those of leadership and control of society. To this degree the remarks of S. L. Jackson seem to be valid when he contends that "education was at no time the paramount issue. It was a weapon in the contemporary struggles between industrial capitalism and agriculture, and between the class groups within both areas."[40] Had the proponents of free public education failed to take issue with those in favor of private schooling and had they not succeeded in redirecting the educational system along more democratic lines, the country might very well have developed in a relatively short period of time an oligarchy of intelligentsia in control of society by reason of its superior education. This threat failed to materialize because of the efforts of a small number of farsighted schoolmen.

Carter was anxious to see teacher training centers established but he wished them to be under the direction of the state, not privately controlled. He regarded such an institution as "an engine to sway the public sentiment, the public morals, and the public religion, more

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[39] Ibid.

[40] Gross and Chandler, op. cit., pp. 120-121, citing Sidney L. Jackson, America's Struggle for Free Schools (American Council on Public Affairs, 1941).

powerfully than any others in the possession of government."[41] Both state and national governments were gaining greater powers at this time and the developments in education reflected this trend. Carter was so determined that such an institution should be established that he considered embarking upon the project himself. In 1826 he gave his readers a glimpse of what he had in mind when he explained that if teacher training "be not undertaken by the public for public purposes, it will be undertaken by individuals for private purposes."[42]

In 1827 Carter nearly realized his dreams when he acquired a grant of land and gained the use of an academy building from the city of Lancaster, Massachusetts. He then petitioned the Massachusetts State Legislature for a sum of money sufficient to enable him to finance a seminary for teachers, but the bill was defeated by a single vote. He was forced to abandon his plan due to a lack of funds and other causes. As Henry Bernard put it, people:

> . . . did not comprehend the full and ultimate public benefits of the new institution, began to manifest opposition, and threw such obstacles in his way, that he was obliged to abandon his project as a public enterprise after having embarrassed himself by his pecuniary outlays for buildings and teachers.[43]

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[41]Calhoun, op. cit., p. 182.

[42]Ibid., p. 183.

[43]Raymond E. Callahan, An Introduction to Education in American Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), p. 396, citing Henry Bernard's Normal Schools and Other Institutions, Agencies and Means Designed for the Professional Education of Teachers (Hartford: Case, Tiffany and Company, 1951), I, 101.

Both the private seminaries of Hall and Carter "were of great importance, for they influenced the course of teacher training in the private academies which trained the great majority of the American common school teachers before 1865.[44]

New York became the first state to promote a teacher training program. The legislature provided for state subsidies to be granted to private academies which would offer teacher training courses. The legislature made available state funds to be used by one academy in each of the eight judicial districts of the state.[45] Yet the academies never succeeded in adequately preparing a sufficient number of teachers.

The lack of well trained teachers was not the only reason given for the low status of education. Superintendent A. G. Flagg of the Common Schools of New York explained in 1828 that:

> One of the principal reasons why the standard of education in the common schools has not been more elevated is to be found in the unwillingness on the part of the school districts to make adequate compensation to teachers of approved talents and qualifications.[46]

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[44]Freeman R. Butts, and Lawrence A. Cremin, A History of Education in American Culture (New York: Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1953), p. 186.

[45]Cubberley, op. cit., p. 337.

[46]Gross and Chandler, op. cit., p. 406.

The fact that both academic as well as financial causes were responsible for the low level of elementary education is attested to in the observation of J. Orville Taylor, author of The District School (1834), when he wrote:

> It is conceded by all that nothing can be done without competent teachers, and such teachers, in the number and of the qualifications required, we can never have, unless they are properly examined, and watched, and controlled, and above all, properly rewarded.[47]

Taylor laid down some rather severe demands upon the teacher corps of his day when he wrote in 1834 that a teacher of the young should be able to teach as nature teaches, by example, to love his business, to make his business his major concern, to be patient and persevering, and to always appear pleasant and affectionate. This type of person was not frequently found teaching in the schools, as Taylor suggests, when he complained of the lack of preparation most had had for the employment in which they were engaged. He pointed to those who taught only "to fill up a vacant month or two, when they expect something else will offer far more lucrative or suitable to their wishes."[48]

Although educational reformers realized the importance of formal training for teachers, the public was slow to respond to existing needs. As late as 1833 Samuel Hall pointed out that there was not in

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[47]Drake, op. cit., p. 372, J. Orville Taylor, The District School (New York: Harper Brothers, 1834), p. 5.

[48]Ibid., p. 391.

the entire country "one seminary where the educators of children [could] be thoroughly qualified for his important work."[49] And in an address before the American Institute of Instruction the same year, Hall criticized the expenditure by the state government of large sums of money for high schools and academies while failing to make any provisions for "teacher's seminaries upon which the success of the school for seven-eighths of the population depend."[50]

Hall was only one of many who began at this time to publicize the need for training centers for teachers. After the failure of the private teacher training seminaries (started by Hall and Carter in the 1820's), and before the founding of the first state normal schools in 1838-1839, there occurred in this country numerous reports of European achievements in the area of teacher training. Educators, in an effort to build a better public school system, had turned to Europe for support. There they found a valuable resource to assist them in their plans for developing teacher training centers here. Training seminaries in Europe had been established a hundred years before they appeared in this country and had made rapid progress, especially under the direction of Fredrick the Great. By the nineteenth century, school teachers in

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[49]Willard S. Elsbree, The American Teacher (New York: American Book Company, 1939), p. 145.

[50]Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey, The School in the American Social Order (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963), p. 415.

Prussia were trained not only in subject matter but were taught the principles of psychology so they might better understand the nature of children. The theories of Johann Herbart (1776-1841) were also incorporated into the training provided by Prussian training centers.[51] Herbart had advocated the study of the psychology of learning and careful presentation of information through specific steps advancing from the known to the unknown. These theories of Herbart eventually became a basic principle in all European and American normal schools.[52] Prussian teachers were also given the opportunity of becoming public officials and of receiving promotions, and finally, pensions upon the completion of their term of service with the state.

One of the earliest and most comprehensive reports on the state of European education available to English readers was that of the Frenchman, Victor Cousin (1792-1867).[53] In 1831 the French government commissioned Cousin to make a study of the Prussian school system. This he did, and the following year published his Report on the Condition of Public Instruction in Prussia, in which he gave a detailed description of the educational system as it existed in Prussia

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[51]Carroll Atkinson, The Story of Education (Philadelphia: Chilton Company, 1965), p. 351.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Stuart G. Noble, A History of American Education (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1938), p. 440.

and the other German states. Part of the report subsequently appeared in London in 1834 under the title: Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia. The London edition was republished in New York in 1835 and was cited by the American Annals of Education as "an account of the best school system in the world, by the first philosopher of the age."[54] Cousin's Report came at a time when those who were dedicated to the extension of state supervision and the improvement of the schools were in need of support to restrict the authority of the local districts and to transfer some of the district's control into the hands of the state.[55] It also aided those interested in the founding of state supported teachers' seminaries, as in the case of James G. Carter, who considered teachers' seminaries essential to the implementation of an effective state educational system.

Americans who had gone to Europe returned to publish reports concerning European achievements with teacher training centers. One of these was Calvin Ellis Stowe (1803-1886), professor at Dartmouth College and at Andover Theological Seminary. Stowe made a study of the school systems in Europe and reported his findings in two publications: Elementary Education in Europe, and Instruction in Prussia, both

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[54]Edwards and Richey, op. cit., p. 341, citing "Notices of Books," in American Annals of Education, V (April, 1835), p. 190.

[55]Edwards and Richey, op. cit., p. 341.

appearing in 1837.[56] The former work is cited by Cubberley as being the first such report of European educational conditions that attracted general attention in this country.[57] Stowe did not hesitate to exploit the advantages contained in the reports of Cousin. As one of the more advanced educational thinkers of the day, Stowe developed from Cousin's report a lecture which was published under the title: "The Prussian System of Public Education and Its Applicability to the United States." According to the historian Walz, the lecture gave one of the clearest and most succinct accounts of the Prussian school system available at that time.[58] Stowe urged the adoption of teacher seminaries in the United States like the ones in Prussia. American educators were gradually coming to the realization that the training of teachers was essential to an adequate state education program.[59] Stowe believed it to be the responsibility of the state to provide "a Normal School, that is a Teacher's Seminary and Model-School . . . ." to instruct "teachers in the science of education and the art of

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[56]Cubberley, op. cit., p. 359.

[57]Ibid.

[58]Edwards and Richey, op. cit., p. 341, citing John A. Walz, German Influence in American Education and Culture (Pa.) (Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc., 1836), p. 18.

[59]Edwards and Richey, op. cit., p. 342.

teaching."[60] He recommended that candidates to the normal school not be admitted without a knowledge of the fundamentals as taught in the common schools and be sixteen years of age or older. He also felt the duration of the training program should extend over a three-year period, and that the last year of study be spent in the model-school where candidates might be directly supervised in the practice of teaching.[61] In regard to the actual curriculum, Stowe cited various fields of study which should characterize the training program of the normal school:

1. A thorough scientific, and demonstrative study of all the branches to be taught in the common schools . . . .
2. The philosophy of mind, particularly in reference to its susceptibility of receiving impressions from the mind.
3. The peculiarities of intellectual and moral development in children . . . .
4. The science of education . . . .
5. The art of teaching.
6. The art of governing children . . . .
7. History of education . . . .
8. The rules of health, and the rules of physical development.
9. Dignity and importance of the teacher's office.
10. Special religious obligations . . . .
11. The influence which the school should exert on civilization . . . .
12. The elements of Latin, together with German, French, and the Spanish languages.[62]

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[60]Callahan, op. cit., p. 394.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Ibid., p. 395.

In 1839-1840 Stowe again had the opportunity to express his views, this time in the Connecticut Common School Journal, in which he stated, regarding teacher seminaries, ". . . if it can be done in Europe, I believe it can be done in the United States; if it can be done in Prussia, I know it can be done in Ohio."[63]

The Reverend Charles Brooks was also a student of teachers' seminaries in Europe at this time and an ardent promoter of teacher training in Massachusetts. After returning from Europe in 1835, Brooks publicly advocated the establishment of "state normal schools, owned, supported, and governed by the state for the state's service."[64] He also published a book concerning his European travels entitled Education in Europe. He felt that the school teacher should be: (1) enthusiastic about his work, (2) capable of governing his class, (3) morally upright, (4) able to apply the principles taught in the classroom, (5) able to communicate effectively with his students, (6) well informed in all areas relating to the past.[65]

Another influence upon American educational thought generated by European developments stemmed from the work of Johann Heinrick Pestalozzi (1746-1827), of Switzerland. Although Pestalozzi never came

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[63]Calhoun, op. cit., p. 197.

[64]Drake, op. cit., p. 371.

[65]Butts and Cremin, op. cit., p. 228.

to these shores, his disciples and his teachings did, and it was in this country that his ideas received their fullest expression. Robert Owen, the English socialist and industrialist, and William Maclure, the American philanthropist and industrialist, believed in Pestalozzi, and introduced his ideas into their experimental school at New Harmony, Indiana, in 1826.[66] While on a tour of Europe, Maclure had met a teacher of Pestalozzi, Joseph Neef. Maclure had induced Neef to come to this country in 1806. When New Harmony was being planned in 1825, Neef was asked to join the community in the capacity of schoolmaster. Neef put into practice the principles of Pestalozzi at New Harmony. The practical aspects of Pestalozzianism have been summarized as follows:

1. An all-around training must be given.
2. All possible liberty must be allowed the learner.
3. Work is more important than words.
4. The work of learning must be primarily analytic, i.e., based upon the analysis of experience.
5. Realities must come before symbolism in learning.
6. Organization and correlation are necessary.[67]

As head of the school at New Harmony, Neef did not hesitate to introduce manual training and elementary science into the curriculum. Girls enjoyed equal standing with boys, and received the benefits of a free and comprehensive education, without the influence of religion.[68]

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[66]Curti, op. cit., pp. 66-67.

[67]Monroe, op. cit., p. 659.

[68]Curti, op. cit., p. 67.

Although New Harmony did not succeed--the community was abandoned in 1828--it did serve as an example of those principles which were to become the basis of modern elementary education. Neef is also credited with having published the first strictly pedagogical work in English in this country. His Plan and Method of Education first appeared in Philadelphia in 1808.[69]

Pestalozzianism was also spread in this country by such leaders in the educational field as William Russell, Charles Brooks, James Carter, Henry Bernard, and Horace Mann. Pestalozzi helped to generate public interest in the schools, promote school reforms, and establish a solid foundation for the normal school.

Schoolmen in this country had worked long and hard to prepare the public to accept those measures which seemed necessary to cure some of the ills existing in the field of public education. As in the past, New England was to produce the leadership that would eventually succeed in establishing state supported, and state controlled teacher training centers. If statewide, uniform practices were to be initiated, then educators would realize that they would have to go to the source of state power, the legislature. This was precisely what James Carter of Massachusetts did, and as a result he became a key figure in the organization and establishment of state normal schools in Massachusetts.

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[69]Cubberley, op. cit., p. 354.

## CHAPTER V

## THE FIRST STATE NORMAL SCHOOL IN AMERICA

The opening decades of the nineteenth century were characterized by the emergence of sectional feelings, the growth of the democratic spirit, the triumph of laissez-faire capitalism, the rise of American nationalism, and the realization that if public education was going to be improved, something had to be done to enhance the quality of teaching in the common schools.[1] In Europe, Herbart, Pestalozzi, and the German and French seminaries had made significant contributions in this field. Agitation in this country had long been underway, but little real progress had been made.

Then in 1835, the normal school advocates in Massachusetts scored a singular success when they sent to the state legislature one of their staunchest supporters in the person of James G. Carter. As a member of the House of Representatives Carter continued to exert himself in the interests of education. In 1836 he was appointed chairman of the House Education Committee.[2] In the following year Carter

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[1]Charles M. Wiltse, The New Nation 1800-1845 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961), p. vii.

[2]Ellwood P. Cubberley, The History of Education in the United States (New York: Houghton-Mifflin and Company, 1913), p. 222.

was supported in his campaign to secure state funds to establish training centers for teachers by the most influential educational body in the state, the American Institute of Instruction. This organization had been founded in Boston in 1830 and numbered among its membership some of the most respected names in the New England educational community.[3] George B. Emerson, the first president of the institute, was later a member of the Massachusetts State Board of Education. Samuel R. Hall was a director, as were W. J. Adams, D. Kimball, E. A. Andrews, B. Greenleaf, and N. Cleveland.[4] Others, such as Lyman Beecher, Calvin E. Stowe, Elias Loomis, William H. McGuffey, Samuel Galloway, and Henry Bernard were counted among its early speakers and officers.[5]

In a report submitted to the legislature in February of 1837, the Institute pleaded:

> . . . the expediency of instituting, for the special instruction of teachers, one or more seminaries, either standing independently, or in connection with institutions already existing; as you shall, in your wisdom, think best.[6]

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[3]Ibid., p. 704.

[4]Arthur O. Norton, The First State Normal School in America. The Journals of Cyrus Peirce and Mary Swift (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1926), p. 252.

[5]Cubberley, op. cit., p. 704.

[6]Norton, op. cit., p. 250.

Concern was also expressed for the wasted hours of thousands of the school children whose time and energies were squandered by ill-prepared teachers.[7] The report leveled an eight-point indictment against the conditions existing in the public school system, concentrating the attack upon the teachers who, it was stated, ". . . know not what to teach, nor how to teach, nor in what spirit to teach, nor what is the nature of those they undertake to lead, nor what they are themselves, who stand forward to lead them"[8]

To be sure, it was not the town schools nor the private schools that were the objects of disapproval. These schools were adequately provided for: higher salaries attracted the better qualified and more stable and responsible teachers. The real concern was rather for the poorer districts and those areas where the population was scattered. As the report explained the situation:

> The wealthy are less directly affected by [the existing deficiencies] as they can send their children from home to the better schools in other places. The larger towns are not affected in the same degree, as their density of population enables them to employ teachers through the year, at salaries which command somewhat higher qualifications.[9]

The members of the Institute linked their concern with the future of the Commonwealth. They maintained that the conditions of

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[7] Ibid., p. 247.

[8] Ibid., p. 249.

[9] Ibid., pp. 249-250.

public education would have a direct bearing upon the future of the state. In fact, it was implied that the stability, and even the future of Massachusetts depended upon the educational system.[10]

These observations reflected the remarks of James Carter who, a decade earlier, had pointed out that a third of the population was being poorly prepared to assume the reins of leadership. Carter had stated that within twenty years those children "must take our names, and attach to them honor or infamy. They must possess our fortunes, to preserve or disperse them. And they must inherit our free institutions, to improve, pervert, or destroy them."[11]

Indeed, the educational picture of the country in the first half of the century was not bright. Horace Mann, in his studies, found that nearly one thousand districts in Massachusetts did not have schoolhouses in the late 1830's.[12] By the end of the decade there appeared little of which educators could be proud. In New England, only one-half of those eligible were provided a free education, about one-sixth of those in the West, and one-seventh of those in the Middle States.[13] Henry Bernard reported that in Connecticut in 1837 that about ten

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[10]Ibid., p. 248.

[11]Ibid., pp. 241-242.

[12]Merle Curti, The Social Ideas of American Educators (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), p. 27.

[13]Ibid., p. 28.

thousand children of wealthy parents were being well educated in private schools at a cost greater than that appropriated for the other sixty to seventy thousand children in the state.[14] Quality education in the private schools was being provided at the expense of support for the common schools. This condition was unhealthy for democracy.

In 1837, James Carter, as chairman of the Committee on Education, secured the passage of the bill creating the Massachusetts State Board of Education. Governor Edward Everett signed the bill into law on April 20, 1837.[15] Nine members composed the Board, including the governor who acted as chairman, ex officio. The eight others were appointed by him.[16] The powers of the Board were negligible, yet its duties were important. It was to act as a fact-finding body, to gather information, and to report this information concerning educational conditions within the state annually to the legislature. It was also charged with the responsibility of making suggestions for improving the schools of the state. The Board also had to find a person to fill the post of secretary to act as executive agent.[17]

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[14]Ibid., p. 27.

[15]Eban S. Sterns, Electa Walton, Grace Shepard, Historical Sketches of the Framingham State Normal School (Framingham, Massachusetts: The Alumnae Association, 1914), p. 13.

[16]Norton, op. cit., pp. xxxvii, xxxviii.

[17]Ibid., p. xxxviii.

Horace Mann was serving as president of the state senate in 1837 when the State Board of Education was created. As a senator he had been directly involved in the creation of the new office. Friends, specifically Edmund Dwight and Governor Edward Everett, persuaded him to give up his promising political career and accept the uncertainties of the office of secretary of the new State Board of Education.[18]

Mann was not as well qualified, educationally, for the new office as was James Carter, who was well known as a teacher, writer, and lecturer. In fact, according to Whittemore, had it not been for Edmund Dwight, the office of secretary would have gone to Carter, who was the "first choice of the Governor, the Board, and the educators of the state . . . ."[19] However, Dwight prevailed, and Mann, after resigning from the senate, and giving up his promising law career, took up his new duties on July 1, 1837.[20]

The new secretary regarded his office as a unique opportunity to serve his fellow man and to devote himself, as he expressed it, "to the supremest welfare of mankind upon earth . . . . I have faith in the improvability of the race--in their accelerating improvability."[21]

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[18]Cubberley, op. cit., p. 222.

[19]Robert Clifton Whittemore, Makers of the American Mind (New York: William Marrow and Company, 1964), pp. 200-201.

[20]Ibid., p. 201.

[21]Cubberley, op. cit., p. 223.

Horace Mann remained at his new post for twelve of the most active years of his life. He was a modern crusader and very much concerned with and involved in the problems of the day. He fully supported the social and humanitarian reforms pursued at this time, such as the abolition of slavery; the temperance movement; prison reform; the movement to secure the education of the blind, the deaf, and the feebleminded; and, among these, "the cause of free public education held a chief place."[22]

Because of his eloquence as a speaker and writer, and his ability to state succinctly and cogently the major arguments in favor of public education, Mann may well have been the best possible choice for the job of secretary of the Board of Education. It is significant to note, however, that those concerned with educational reform in the state found it advantageous to go outside of the field of education in their efforts to secure the best possible person for the job. It is also noteworthy that the achievements scored by Mann were the results of techniques not used by educators then or now, that is, the use of the communication media to publicize the educational program and to sell that program to the public.

The achievement signified by the creation of the state board of education may be better appreciated when consideration is given to

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[22]Norton, op. cit., p. xxxviii.

the conditions of education as they developed and existed in Massachusetts between 1775 and 1825. The structure of the public school system lacked any kind of unity. On the state level there was no control of any kind. Each of the three hundred townships into which the state was divided was responsible for the support of its own schools by a school tax. In most cases the townships were divided into districts which managed the local school. This situation led to the multiplication of between fifteen hundred and twenty-five hundred small, one-room, ungraded district schools operating independently of one another and of the townships and of the state. In short, "it was a case of local self-government pushed to absurdity."[23] Under such conditions, concerted action to improve the schools was not possible. But the creation of a state board of education was a step in the direction of unified reform.

In fact it was the third in a series of steps designed to unify and improve educational conditions in the state. The first move on the part of the legislature had occurred in 1827 when the townships were required to send to the Secretary of the Commonwealth statistical reports concerning the schools. This was the first time in the history of Massachusetts that the state assumed the responsibility of gathering

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[23]Norton, op. cit., p. xxxiii.

educational information on a statewide basis.[24] Then in 1834, a state school fund was established to assist those towns who were in need of assistance. The fact that the state placed its services at the disposal of local districts made the entry of the state into local school affairs less difficult. Those opposed to state interference had fewer grounds for complaint. Thus, by gradual steps in 1827, 1834, and 1837, the state had effectually entered the arena of education. The preparation and planning stage had been achieved. It was now time for action.

The office of Secretary of the State Board of Education had little or no authority connected with it except the force of public opinion. Consequently, Mann's first efforts were spent in educating the populace in regard to the needs and objectives of public education. Once this was done, the legal machinery necessary to improve public instruction could be successfully implemented.[25]

He met this challenge with all the vigor of his dynamic personality. He lectured extensively, issued numerous reports, and stated his views in the Common School Journal, a magazine which he created and edited specifically for the purpose of gaining public support for education.[26] Mann was not gifted as a theorist, philosopher, or

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[24]Ibid., p. xxxvi.

[25]Carroll Atkinson, The Story of Education (Philadelphia: Chilton Company, 1965), p. 105.

[26]Ibid.

scientific pedagogue. He gave no evidence of having speculative talents. He was a pragmatic thinker and not an abstract theorist. In fact, he was "essentially a propagandist albeit one with absolute faith in his cause."[27] Mann possessed the ability to evaluate the existing conditions accurately, to propound workable solutions, and possessed the energy and courage necessary to implement reform measures. His weapons in defense of his cause were the pen, the press, and the lectern, and he used these instruments with consummate skill.

Yet, the forces of resistance were staggering. In 1837, a great majority of the citizenry was either indifferent to, or openly hostile toward, the public school system. Buildings were largely old and in a state of disrepair while it was nearly impossible to find a newly erected school. The attitude on the part of many of the poor was anti-educational, for they regarded education not as a stepping stone to be used as a means to improve their condition in life, but "as a diabolical scheme" by which to deprive them of their children's labor.[28]

After taking office, Mann disclosed glaring defects in the Massachusetts school system. He singled out the inefficiency of school committees and charged them with dereliction of duty. School

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[27]Whittemore, op. cit., p. 204.

[28]Ibid., p. 205.

attendance in the winter was down one third, and dropped even lower in the summer months. Laws concerning visitation and certification of teachers were not being observed.[29] Mann's strategy was to first inform the public of existing conditions, to offer them a workable solution, and then to initiate the legislation necessary to implement the needed reforms.

Outside of the legislature, working with Mann and Carter in an effort to establish training centers for teachers, was the Reverend Charles Brooks (1795-1872). Brooks was a man of great energy and dedication. During the years 1835 through 1838 he traveled over two thousand miles explaining the Prussian system of teacher training and emphasizing Massachusetts' need for such an institution.[30] The success of the normal school later established at Bridgewater was due largely to the efforts of this one man.

In his Annals of Education, published in 1837, Brooks relates the events which took place while visiting Plymouth County, Massachusetts. During the first evening of his visit there, he explained to "A Convention of the Friends of Common Education" the Prussian system of training teachers. On the second night he pointed out the advantages

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[29]Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey, The School in the American Social Order (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963), p. 347.

[30]Cubberley, op. cit., p. 379.

of a teacher training center in Plymouth County. After a lengthy and heated debate, a resolution was adopted by the citizens providing that:

> ". . . a committee of seven be appointed, who shall adress a circular to each town in the County, and the town of Cohasset, asking them to appoint each three delegates, who shall meet in convention in Halifax, and devise methods of securing to Plymouth County a Seminary for the education of Teachers."[31]

Ironically, opposition to the establishment of training seminaries came most frequently from within the ranks of the educational community. The academies, at this time the principal source of teachers, regarded the idea of training schools as detrimental to their better interests, for the training schools would deprive them of those students planning to become teachers. Further, the training schools were accused of duplicating services already provided by the academies. It was therefore recommended that the organization of such schools be restricted to methods and education courses and not include courses dealing with subject matter. These views were contrary to Carter's conception of what a teacher seminary should be as well as opposed to the position taken by the American Institute of Instruction.

Another common opinion held in the academies and colleges was that knowledge of a subject qualified one to teach--the possession of knowledge being equated with the ability to communicate information

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[31] Ibid.

and understand the nature of youth.[32] Many teachers took offense at the implications contained in the arguments in favor of training centers. Teachers had evidenced a lack of skill and preparation for their work. Those who favored training centers for teachers were prescribing a remedy for these deficiencies. This type of criticism was not always well taken by the teaching community. Although this opposition to training centers did not succeed in preventing the establishment of such schools, the academies did continue to produce the majority of teachers sent out to teach in the elementary grades for the better part of the nineteenth century.[33]

The New England decision to establish institutions for teacher training was patterned after the Prussian and French examples. The European education system was based on an aristocratic class structure which was reflected in and perpetuated by that educational system. The commoner in these European countries could not attend, much less teach in, the regular secondary schools or in the universities. As a result, special training centers for elementary teachers had to be established if the division in the class structure was to be maintained. In this country the educational reformers set about to employ similar means to accomplish quite opposite ends. The direction public

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[32]Raymon E. Callahan, An Introduction to Education in American Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), pp. 395-396.

[33]Paul Monroe (ed.), A Cyclopedia of Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913), IV, 481.

education was going was contributing to the creation of an elite intellectual class. The best teachers and the best training were to be found only in the private schools. This condition the reformers wished to change. None the less, they had to defend their position against critics who claimed they were attempting to Prussianize the educational system in this country. Horace Mann was well aware of the inherent evils of blindly following the Prussian system of education which, in his opinion, was designed to enslave rather than enfranchise the student's mind. Nevertheless, Mann did not hesitate to borrow those administrative techniques he felt would be useful in his own state.[34]

A key figure in the establishment of the first state normal schools in the United States was Edmund Dwight, a wealthy Boston businessman who had taken a keen interest in the educational conditions of the state and who was not only capable, but willing to play a leading role in the reform movement. Dwight had espoused the cause of Carter and Mann and through the Secretary of the State Board of Education made an offer to the state of Massachusetts of $10,000 on condition that the state match this amount with unappropriated funds of its own. The letter from Mann to the state legislature was dated March 12, 1838, and read in part:

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[34]Frederick Jackson Turner, The United States, 1830-1850 (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1935), p. 82, citing Life and Works of Horace Mann (Boston, 1891), III, 240-241.

> Private munificence has placed conditionally at my disposal, the sum of Ten Thousand Dollars, to promote the cause of Popular Education in Massachusetts.
>
> The condition is, that the Commonwealth will contribute the same amount from unappropriated funds, in aid of the same cause;--both sums to be drawn upon equally, as needed, and to be disbursed under the direction of the Board of Education, in qualifying Teachers of our Common Schools.[35]

On April 18, 1838, the Massachusetts legislature passed the bill authorizing the acceptance of the contribution of Dwight and agreed to his conditions by stating that:

> . . . his Excellency, the Governor, be, and he is hereby authorized and requested, by and with the advice and consent of the Council, to draw his warrant upon the Treasurer of the Commonwealth in favor of the Board of Education, for the sum of $10,000, in such installments and at such times, as said Board may request: provided, said Board, in their request, shall certify, that the Secretary of said Board has placed at their disposal an amount equal to that for which such application may by them be made; both sums to be expended, under the direction of said Board, in qualifying teachers for the Common Schools in Massachusetts.[36]

Having been given the authority and the means by which to establish a teacher education program, the Board of Education, of which Edmund Dwight was a member, decided upon a three-year experimental plan. Training centers were to be established in the northeastern, western,

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[35]Carl H. Gross and Charles C. Chandler, The History of American Education Through Readings (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1964), p. 415.

[36]Ibid., p. 416.

and southeastern parts of the state in those cities willing to provide additional assistance in support of the proposed schools.[37]

In response to the Board's appeal, the citizens of Lexington donated $1000 for books and other expenditures, and signed a three-year lease for an academy building and placed it at the disposal of the Board to be used as a teacher training center. "Here on July 3, 1839, the first public normal school in America was opened."[38] Another building was also acquired to house the principal and the students of the school. The second site chosen by the Board was the city of Barre, in the western part of the state. The school founded here opened its doors on September 4, 1839. Bridgewater, the third school, in the southeastern part of the state, opened on September 9, 1840.[39]

Having gained the financial backing to establish the normal schools, Mann's next important task was to select a principal for the Lexington school whose capabilities would enable him to organize a program which could be used by the later schools as a model. Mann needed a man who was experienced, respected, and committed to the success of the normal school experiment. After a statewide search,

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[37]First State Normal School in America (Framingham, Massachusetts: The Alumnae Association of the State Teachers College at Framingham, 1959), p. 2.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid.

he selected for the post the Reverend Cyrus Peirce (1790-1859), a preacher and teacher, who had taught in private and public schools for thirteen years. Peirce was a respected figure in the Massachusetts educational community who had demonstrated his ability both as a teacher and administrator. He had organized the school system at Nantucket, one of the two large whaling ports on the Massachusetts coast.[40]

In his efforts to screen likely candidates to head the new school at Lexington, Mann had traveled to Nantucket where Peirce was teaching and was impressed by the command he exercised over the school, the spirit of the student body, and the results Peirce was achieving. As one student expressed it:

> "I shall always look back to the time passed in Mr. Peirce's school as one of the best and happiest periods of my life. He inspired me with new views, new motives, and a new thirst for knowledge; in short, he opened an almost new terrestrial world to me."[41]

On the basis of Peirce's teaching ability, Mann selected him for the post as principal of the first public normal school in America.[42] Peirce accepted the offer, although the decision involved a monetary

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[40] Ibid., p. 3.

[41] Norton, op. cit., p. xxviii, citing Henry Bernard's American Journal of Education, IV, 275ff.

[42] First State Normal School in America, p. 3.

loss. The state could not match the $1,400 annual wage he was receiving at Nantucket.[43]

Samuel J. May, who was a fellow student of Peirce in college and his successor at Lexington in 1842 to 1844, wrote of his impressions of the first principal at Lexington, noting:

> "The uniform success of Cyrus Peirce, in whatever he undertook, was owing to his singular fidelity and perseverance. No one could have been more faithful, patient, persevering, than he was. Whatever the subject of study might be, his mind took hold of it with a tenacious grasp, and never let go, until he had reached a satisfactory result. In this particular I have never known his equal."[44]

The philosophy, spirit, and objectives of the first normal school for teachers were expressed by Peirce when he declared his intention:

> ". . . to raise up for our common schools especially, a better class of teachers,--teachers who would not only teach more and better than those already in the field, but who would govern better; teachers, who would teach in harmony with the laws of juvenile development, who would secure diligent study and good lessons and sure progress, without a resort to emulation and premiums, and good order from higher motives than the fear of the rod or bodily pain; teachers, who could not only instruct well in the common branches, as reading, writing, arithmetic, etc., but give valuable information on a variety of topics, such as accounts, history, civil institutions, political economy, and physiology; bring into action the various powers of children, and prepare them for the duties of practical life; teachers, whose whole influence on the pupils, direct and indirect, should be good, tending to make them, not only good readers, geographers, grammarians, arithmeticians, etc., but good scholars, good

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[43]Norton, op. cit., p. 269.

[44]Norton, op. cit., p. xxvii, citing "Memoir of Peirce," by Samuel J. May, in Henry Bernard's American Journal of Education, IV, 275.

> children, obedient, kind, respectful, mannerly, truthful; and in due time, virtuous, useful citizens, kind neighbors, high-minded, noble pious men and women. And this I attempted to do by inculcating the truth in the art of teaching and governing,--the truth in all things; and by giving them a living example of it in my own practice."[45]

Peirce was an indefatigable worker as may be summarized from his journal in which the principal of the Lexington Normal School explained the nature of his work. Elsbree described the difficulties that confronted the office of the principal when he asked the reader to:

> . . . imagine himself teaching ten subjects in a single term and seventeen different subjects in the course of a single year, and at the same time supervising a model school of thirty pupils, acting as demonstrator teacher, developing the professional materials to be taught in the normal school, and serving as janitor of the building . . . .[46]

Peirce seldom allowed himself more than "four hours" of sleep out of the twenty-four. He attended the fires, rang the school bells, listened to most of the recitations in the normal school, taught in the model school, and satisfied the demands of a large and growing correspondence.[47] Shortly after assuming his new office, he remarked on one occasion that he would rather die than see the school fail.[48] Many

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[45]Callahan, op. cit., p. 400, citing Henry Bernard, Normal Schools and Other Institutions, Agencies, and Means Designed for the Professional Education of Teachers (Hartford: Case, Tiffany and Company, 1851), p. 77.

[46]Willard S. Elsbree, The American Teacher (New York: American Book Company, 1939), pp. 147-148.

[47]Stearns, Walton, Shepard, op. cit., p. 32.

[48]Ibid., p. 29.

would agree with Henry Bernard, that had it not been for the persistency and conscientiousness of Cyrus Peirce, the normal school experiment would not have succeeded when it did.[49]

The organization of the school was such that the academic year was divided into three terms lasting a total of forty-two weeks with ten weeks vacation. The winter and summer terms lasted fifteen weeks each, while the fall term ran for twelve weeks. Six weeks of vacation separated the summer and fall terms, and two weeks were allowed between the fall and winter, and winter and summer terms.[50]

The concept of the state normal school was based on the Prussian model, although in reality it was more like an American academy. The entrance requirements were much the same as any secondary school of the period. The following is a list of some of the requirements tailored specifically for the Lexington school which began and remained a girls' institution. The schools at Barre and Bridgewater were coeducational.

1. Candidates had to be female and to have attained sixteen years of age.[51]

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[49]Ibid., p. 30.

[50]Callahan, op. cit., p. 403.

[51]Edwards and Richey, op. cit., p. 419.

2. They had to declare their intention to become teachers.[52]

3. They were allowed tuition free attendance if they planned to teach in the state, otherwise, a tuition fee was charged which was ". . . intended to be about the same usually charged at good academies in the same neighborhood . . . ."[53]

4. They were required to produce certificates from a responsible person testifying to their good character and to their physical and mental well-being.[54]

5. Candidates were obliged to pass an examination in reading, writing, spelling, grammar, geography, and arithmetic.

6. If admitted, they had to promise to remain in the school for four terms and to faithfully observe the regulations of the school.

7. Candidates were required to equip themselves "with slate and pencil, blank book, Bible, Worchester's Comprehensive Dictionary, and Morese's Geography.[55]

As has been indicated, there was no tuition for those who planned to teach within the state. Those who planned to teach outside of the state were required to pay a fee of $10.00 per term and could

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[52]Callahan, op. cit., p. 401.

[53]Gross and Chandler, op. cit., p. 416.

[54]Callahan, op. cit., p. 401.

[55]Ibid., pp. 401-402.

enter only if there was enough room for all those intending to become state teachers. Every student was required to pay a $1.50 at the beginning of each term to meet incidental expenses.[56] Students did not board at Lexington but were obliged to find lodging in neighboring homes for amounts ranging from $2.00 to $2.50 per week. This included washing and fuel. The total annual expense of this item was about $100.00.[57]

The daily routine of the students was structured to provide ample study time. School began at 8:30 a.m. and closed at 2:00 p.m. Students were expected to rise at 6:00 a.m. in the winter months and at 5:00 a.m. in the summer and to study for an hour in the winter and two hours in the summer before breakfast.[58] Although school was out at 2:00 p.m., students were to study an hour and a half in the afternoon from 4:00 to 5:30 and again for two hours in the fall and winter from 7:00 until 9:00. In the summer the evening study period lasted from 8:00 till 9:00 p.m. The ladies were to retire at 10:00 p.m. and every light had to be "extinguished at half-past ten, at the utmost."[59]

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[56] Ibid., p. 403.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid., p. 404.

The course of studies included those subjects which were taught at the district level in the common schools. The curriculum, therefore, during the first year, included a review of the subjects to be taught on the elementary level, such as reading, writing, spelling, grammar, and arithmetic, and some geography, and physiology.[60]

Upon completion of the first year's work, the students who wished to pursue their studies further were offered two years of higher studies. These advanced studies were divided into three categories: first, methematics, which included algebra, geometry, bookkeeping, and surveying; second, philosophy, astronomy, history, and chemistry; finally, literary subjects such as the critical study of the English language, an outline history of English literature, U. S. History, and ancient and medieval historical geography embracing a period from Roman times to the French Revolution.[61] The last part of the training program during the third year consisted of instruction in the history and philosophy of teaching; and the application of this information to the existing statewide system of schools. The students also were provided with the opportunity of teaching in the model schools which were associated with the normal schools.[62]

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[60]Gross and Chandler, op. cit., p. 417.

[61]Callahan, op. cit., p. 402.

[62]William E. Drake, The American School in Transition (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955), p. 385.

The progress of the first normal school was very modest. When school began, the enrollment, totally female, numbered but three. Cyrus Peirce wrote in his diary at Lexington on July 3, 1839:

> This Day the Normal School, the first in the Country, commenced.
>
> Three Pupils Misses Hawkins, Smith & Damon were examined by the Board of Visitors--viz Messrs. Sparks, Rantoul & Putnam, & admitted--[63]

The three men mentioned were Jared Sparks, Robert Rantoul, and George Putnam, who represented the first state board of examiners for the new school.[64] Horace Mann and Edmund Dwight were also on hand to witness the opening of the school and the examination of the three applicants.[65] Mann's observations regarding the events of the day contain elements of both disappointment and dogged determination. He recorded in his Journal on July 3:

> The day opened with one of the most copious rains we have had this rainy season. Only three persons presented themselves for examination for the Normal School in Lexington. In point of numbers, this is not a promising commencement. How much of it is to be set down to the weather, how much to the fact that

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[63]Norton, op. cit., p. 3.

[64]Abbie B. McCartney, Historical Resume of the Alumnae Association of: First State Normal School in America, State Teachers College at Framingham, State College at Framingham, Massachusetts (Framingham, Massachusetts: The Alumnae Association of the State College at Framingham, 1964), p. 36.

[65]First State Normal School in America, op. cit., p. 3.

> the opening of the school has been delayed so long, I cannot tell. What remains but more exertion, more and more, until it must succeed.[66]

By the end of the first quarter there were twelve pupils, and by the end of the first year there were twenty-five in attendance.[67]

In October, 1839, Peirce opened the practice or model school in which the young ladies were to gain their first teaching experience supervised by the master, "Father Peirce," as he was affectionately called.[68]

Of these first pupils at Lexington, Norma Kidd Green has expressed the feeling that "they were pioneers of a superior sort, working with a zeal and devotion which often proved beyond their strength and definitely reduced their number."[69] According to Mrs. Green, the dynamic ideas of Horace Mann and those who shared his convictions were made to bear fruit only in the schoolrooms of such women as those who, after their training, went into the common schools and taught their children to be "alert, clearthinking, forward

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[66]Norton, op. cit., p. xlvii.

[67]Edwards and Richey, op. cit., p. 419.

[68]First State Normal School in America, op. cit., p. 3.

[69]Norma Kidd Green, A Forgotten Chapter in American Education: Jane Andrews of Newburyport (Framingham, Massachusetts: The Alumnae Association of the State College at Framingham, Massachusetts, 1969), p. 7.

moving, responsible citizens, not rote learners who could only repeat the past."[70]

Some months later, on September 4, 1839, the school at Barre opened its doors after the citizenry expressed its desire for a school there by offering the Board a "spacious apartment in its town hall," by collecting $1,400 for the purpose of renting a boarding-house, and by purchasing library and schoolroom supplies.[71] The Rev. Professor Newman, of Bowdoin College, Maine, was chosen as principal of the new school. He had been a past president at Bowdoin College, and a respected member in the academic community.[72] The following year the school at Bridgewater opened its doors on September 9, 1840.[73]

The most serious opposition to the new schools arose in the state legislature. There, two reports were put before the General Court in 1840 recommending the abolition of both the Board of Education and the normal schools. The first was submitted by the committee on retrenchment,[74] and the second by the Committee of the Legislature on

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[70] Ibid.

[71] Norton, op. cit., p. 269.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Stearns, Walton, Shepard, op. cit., p. 15.

[74] Cubberley, op. cit., p. 382.

Education.[75] The latter group was charged with the investigation of the Board and of the normal school program. A majority and minority report were subsequently filled, one opposing and the other supporting the Board and its actions.

The majority report charged the Board with attempting to Prussianize the state by introducing a foreign educational system into the country. The normal schools were said to be wasteful, duplicating the services of the academies. The report objected to training personnel who might leave the state after receiving their education in Massachusetts. Finally, there was expressed the fear that ". . . any attempt to form all our schools and all our teachers upon one model, would destroy all competition, all emulation, and even the spirit of improvement itself."[76]

In defense of the Board's action, the minority report reviewed the sequence of events which led to the founding of the first two schools, commenting upon the generosity of Mr. Edmund Dwight, the sacrifices of Mr. Cyrus Peirce, and the efforts made by those towns wishing to support a normal school. The minority report accused the majority of the committee of violating the contracts made during the past two years and of attempting:

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[75]Norton, op. cit., p. 265.

[76]Ibid., p. 267.

> . . . to break their faith with the generous donor of ten thousand dollars, to turn out the boarding-house keepers, to disperse the pupils, and discharge the teachers of the schools, and to annul a charter under which, at much expense and labor, the sum of ten thousand dollars has been raised.[77]

Added to the majority report were the events which took place in the gubernatorial race of 1839. The incumbent, Edward Everett, lost the election by one vote to Marcus Morton, an economy-minded Jacksonian Democrat. Morton regarded Mann's office as a "reckless extravagance," costing the State $1,500 yearly.[78] As the months passed, it appeared likely that the Board and secretariat would be abolished and their function placed in the hands of the towns and school districts. However, the forces in favor of public education weathered the assault, and in March of 1840, the legislature defeated the motion to abolish the Board by a vote of 245 to 182.[79]

In 1842 the three-year probationary period ended. The legislature found the success of the three schools sufficient to warrant the expenditure of $6,000 annually to carry them on for another period of three years. When the legislature voted on March 2, 1842, to continue with the normal school experiment for another three-year period, "the

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[77] Ibid., p. 270.

[78] Whittemore, op. cit., p. 206.

[79] Ibid., and Stearns, Walton, and Shepard, op. cit., p. 30.

battle for the normal schools was virtually won."[80] Mann recorded in his journal that he was unable to express the joy he felt over the success of the normal school system which would be responsible for moving education forward in the state of Massachusetts.[81]

Even so, the state funds appropriated to sustain the schools were barely adequate. The Lexington school existed for five years before it was forced to move its facilities to West Newton in May, 1844. There, because of the liberality of the Hon. Josiah Quincy, Jr., of Boston, a vacant academy building was obtained for $1,500. The building was badly in need of repairs. Despairing of obtaining additional funds, Horace Mann "sold his library and stocks, and expended $1,500 of his own money upon it."[82] It was largely due to the cooperation and support of the citizens of West Newton that this city was chosen. The town collected $600.00 to help meet the expenses of the new school.[83]

By legislative action the following year (1845), the West Newton school was officially named a "State Normal School," The state, thereby, made a formal commitment to the cause of the normal

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[80]Norton, op. cit., pp. xix, xx.

[81]Whittemore, op. cit., p. 206.

[82]Stearns, Walton, and Shepard, op. cit., p. 20.

[83]Ibid.

schools in Massachusetts, and assumed the responsibility for their success.[84] In 1849 the West Newton school was obliged to move again because of a need to expand its facilities. This time Framingham was chosen as the new location and here it has remained to this day as a state college. The school at Barre also moved. In 1846 it was relocated in the city of Westfield where it exists today as Westfield State College.[85] Bridgewater did not move from its original location partly due to the efforts of the Reverend Charles Brooks who went to the community for support of the school.[86]

Other state normal schools followed those in Massachusetts. In New York, interest in the normal school movement was generated by Horace Mann and Thomas Gallaudet when they addressed a convention of deputy superintendents in 1842. In 1844 the state legislature appropriated $9,600 to establish a normal school at Albany. A grant of $10,000 annually was also obtained for the support of the school for a period of five years. After 1850, subsidies were made available to students of the normal school.[87] In 1849, two more states, Connecticut and Michigan, established normal schools within their borders.

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[84]First State Normal School in America, op. cit., p. 3.

[85]Cubberley, op. cit., p. 382.

[86]Ibid.

[87]Drake, op. cit., p. 377.

It was not until fifteen years after the establishment of the first normal school that another training center for teachers was started in the state of Massachusetts. In 1854, the city of Salem donated the property and a building for the fourth normal school in the state.[88] Rhode Island ventured upon a similar course the same year that the Salem school was founded.

Between the years 1855 and 1865 there appeared fourteen more state normal schools, as well as other private schools founded to train teachers. In all, twenty-two normal schools were established in the United States between the years 1839 and 1865.[89]

The achievement of a statewide, state supported system of normal schools gave the public school system new hope, and a new direction to pursue in the interests of improved educational standards. Henry Bernard once expressed the opinion that if the state normal schools in Massachusetts had failed, the cause of public education in America might well have been set back for half a century or more.[90] As it was, state normal schools did succeed and in 1924, the noted author and educator, Professor William Chandler Bagly, credited

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[88]Cubberley, op. cit., p. 383.

[89]Ibid.

[90]Edgar Knight, "A Century of Teacher Education," The Educational Forum, IX, 1945, p. 151.

Massachusetts with an educational system unsurpassed in the country. He stated that:

> The record of this Commonwealth, I am sure, has never been surpassed. In the record of Massachusetts public schools is to be found the clearest and most convincing evidence of the fundamental service that good normal schools may render the state and the nation.[91]

Although the early normal schools were experimental in character, poorly attended, and generally unpopular, their development is historically significant because of their basic relation to the continuing task of strengthening the democratic process in this country.[92] For it was during the 1830's that the nation was faced with a choice of directions regarding the future of education. The old system represented by parochial schools for the denominations, private schools and tutors for those who could afford them, and pauper schools or no schooling for the poor was being challenged by the new system of public education supported by a broad tax base and open to all. The choice involved a decision to either perpetuate an ailing and fractured educational program or to reorganize education on a statewide basis for the benefit of a working democracy. Fortunately, the reformers of the 1830's and 1840's were able to make the latter possible.[93]

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[91]Cubberley, op. cit., p. 382.

[92]Knight, op. cit., p. 151.

[93]Wiltse, op. cit., pp. 131-132.

Both normal schools and universal education developed as a result of and in response to the basic educational needs of a growing democracy. Without the normal school, American education would not have become the outstanding educational system that it is today. Indeed, the singular and most important contribution America may be able to make to Western Civilization is the fulfillment of a dream of universal education. As the Hebrews conceived seminal religious ideas, the Greeks explored the worlds of philosophy, the Romans passed on their legal system, and the British developed parliamentary government, so America has to leave as a testament to her greatness the realization of universal education. This achievement is due, in large part, to the efforts of those reformers who contributed to the success of the public school system in America.[94]

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[94]Richard E. Gross (ed.), Heritage of American Education (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1962), p. 3.

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